

Folklore Journal

North Carolina

54.2 Fall-Winter 2007



North Carolina Folklore Journal

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The *North Carolina Folklore Journal* is published twice a year by the North Carolina Folklore Society with assistance from Western Carolina University and a grant from the North Carolina Arts Council, an agency funded by the State of North Carolina and the National Endowment for the Arts.

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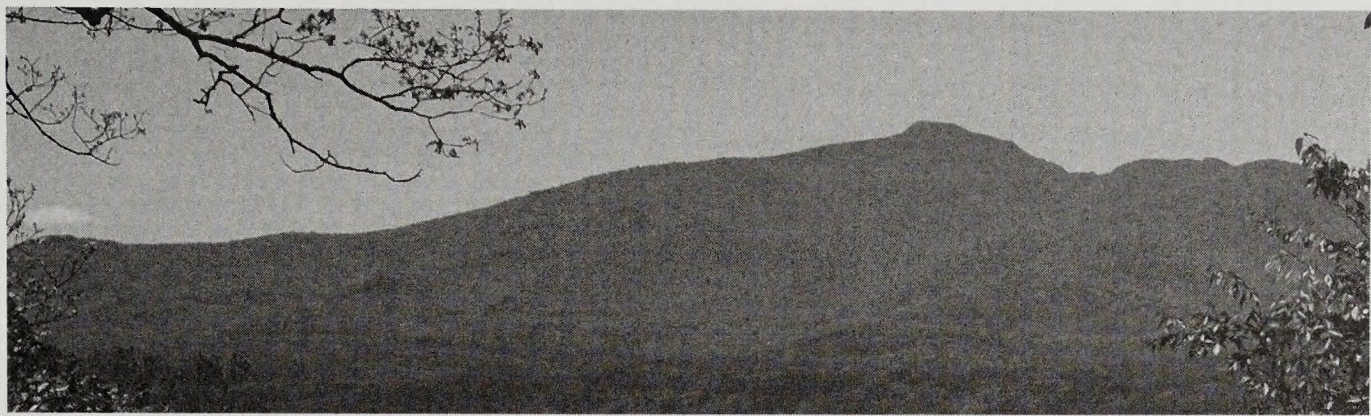
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Volume 54, Number 2 (Fall-Winter 2007)

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Editor's Foreword

By Philip E. "Ted" Coyle

While working to assemble this issue I was reminded of Eric Hobsbawm's classic distinction between "custom" and "invented tradition." Invented traditions, as he sees them, are associated with nationalist political movements and "seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with...a suitable historic past" (1). The principal characteristic of invented traditions is "their invariance" (2). Custom, on the other hand, is more closely tied to the exigencies of everyday life and so does not "preclude innovation and change" (2). Custom, he says, "cannot afford to be invariant because...life is not so" (2).

It seems to me that the *North Carolina Folklore Journal* currently finds itself on the side of "custom" more than "invented tradition." It has not always been so. Founder Arthur Palmer Hudson was a modernizer of tradition, who in an early issue of this Journal decried the "disgusting rowdyism" of a local folk-festival audience, and the "ragged, imperfectly disciplined and over-exuberant" styles of most of the performers (35). Despite these beginnings, it seems that today we are closer to the raggedly over-exuberant than the perfectly disciplined. But there are benefits to being customary. We are a small, regional journal and, with the support of the North Carolina Folklore Society and the North Carolina Arts Council, we are relatively free to do what we want. That includes publishing longer manuscripts, photo-essays, and in-depth reviews.

Frame photograph: Close-up of a drummer at the Asheville Drum Circle. Photo by Paul M. Howey.

This issue of the *North Carolina Folklore Journal* features the citations for the North Carolina Folklore Society's annual awards. The presentation of these awards is the highlight of the year for the North Carolina Folklore Society. It is a pleasure to see good people honored for their life's work. The upcoming annual meeting of the North Carolina Folklore Society will be held in Fountain, North Carolina on March 29, 2008. Please make an effort to attend.

With this issue we welcome Erica Abrams Locklear to the Editorial Board of the *NCFJ*. Faithful readers will recognize her as the author of recent articles about ramps and the culture of ramps. This year she received the American Dissertation Fellowship by the American Association of University Women Educational Foundation Board of Directors and is scheduled to defend her dissertation at Louisiana State University this spring.

Faithful readers will also have noticed an editorial error in the last sentence of Tyler Kendall's article in our most recent issue of the *NCFJ* (54.1: 48). It should read: "Nonetheless, this paper has highlighted one important way that we can undertake an actionable 'semiotics of space' and better make sense of the spaces and places of individuals' lives."

Finally, Daniel Patterson was kind enough to send this addendum to the Brown-Hudson Award citation for Joan and Irene Moser, published in the 53.2 issue of the *North Carolina Folklore Journal* (6):

Joan Moser received her M.A. degree at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in Musicology and Folklore. Following that degree she was awarded a fellowship by the Fulbright Foundation for study at the University of Oslo, where she undertook a comparative study of Norwegian fiddle tunes and traditions and those of western North Carolina. On her return she taught for twelve years at Brevard College and then pursued doctoral studies in Anthropology and Ethnomusicology at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor before coming to Warren Wilson College.

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The Beat Goes On: A Photo-Essay for the Asheville Drum Circle

Text by Vita Ruvolo-Wilkes

Photographs by Paul M. Howey

On Friday nights in Asheville, Pritchard Park is transformed into a kind of ceremonial ground. Drummers take their places on the built-in cement risers and beat their rhythms in a spontaneous harmony. Dancers welcome the beats with their writhing bodies, and, in perfect orchestration, the drummers and dancers seem to share one soul. After a decade of uninterrupted existence, Asheville's drum circle has become an integral part of the city's culture.

The drum circle has its roots in a casual gathering initiated by Sunny Keach. This is how he described it to me:

Not long after I moved here a decade ago, I called a handful of friends up and invited them to play drums with me on a Friday night at the newly revamped Pritchard Park. The drummers, dancers, and onlookers came out of the woodwork. I fondly remember looking around during a peak groove experience, when all was right rhythmically, and seeing all these joyous members of my community. The old and

Vita Ruvolo-Wilkes lives in Asheville, but her roots are in Brooklyn, New York. She has been a member of and "email secretary" for the Asheville drum circle for over two years. Paul M. Howey is an author, newspaper, columnist and photographer. He is editor of The Laurel of Asheville magazine.

Frame photograph: Drummer and audience at Asheville Drum Circle. Photo by Paul M. Howey.

young, families, professionals, artists, the intent and the playful, the freaks and the tourists, this was something everyone could take some sort of part in. It was pure beauty.”

From its inception, according to Keach, there was not much real leadership. Instead, the group has always had a free-spirited non-competitive kinship. At first, it is difficult to uncover the secret of this mysterious kinship. Then, there it is.

The drummers play a rhythm that is introduced by one person on the *djun-djun*, the backbone of the beat. Dozens of drummers pick up the beat and carry it. Then, at unpredictable times, one ardent drummer solos, sneaking in a rhythm between, under, and over the group’s rhythm. The soloist picks up the main beat again and paves the way for another drummer to break out into a solo. This game of tag takes the dancers to new heights. The drummers and dancers become one cooperating, unified body. The timing and direction seem to come from inside of the drummers or perhaps from within the aura that their presence creates. Tourists and residents alike find it hard to resist. Those that have given themselves over to the beat move as though answering a primal need. Belly dancers jingle their ornate jewelry as they move their hips. A juggler tosses his shiny batons in time with the rhythm. Someone plays a penny whistle. Cowbells, *chakares*, and wood blocks join in.

Mya LaMoore, an enthusiastic drum circle member, described to me how Ashevilleans embrace the drum circle. “First,” she explains, “you’re an onlooker. If you feel the need to move, you dance in place. These are the beginners. The intermediates are the people who actually take to the dance floor and melt into the sea of people. But you know you’ve become one of the pros when you save up your money to buy a *djembe* and become one of the drummers.” Her view seems to hold true, because the number of drummers grows each year.

Despite the lack of “official” leadership in the Asheville drum circle, a few years ago, local resident and drumming instructor Larry McDowell found himself dubbed “leader” in order to represent the drum circle to Asheville’s Department of Parks and Recreation, which had instituted a hefty licensing fee to use the park. Without an organized membership, raising the money to pay the fees became a hardship for McDowell. Eventually, he and others from the group took their problem to the Asheville City Council. An agreement was reached and the drum circle was granted free use of Pritchard Park

on Friday nights when the park is not booked for other purposes. In exchange, McDowell agreed to form a task group to help maintain the park's appearance. In 2006, another hurdle arose when city police shut the circle down due to complaints of noise from some new residents.

Still, a recent poll of the businesses that surround Pritchard Park revealed that the overwhelming majority of merchants see the drum circle as an asset to their businesses (Postelle). The circle attracts people to the park, who ultimately stop in and make purchases. A few emphasized that although the drums can be heard from their businesses, it does not hinder conversation. The design of Pritchard Park can probably be credited for this. Built into a slight hill, the park sits lower than the road. The drummers face away from the stores and their sounds are muffled by the unoccupied after-hours offices across the street. Pritchard Park and the drum circle are obviously well suited to each other. On any given Friday night, in all but the coldest weather, attendance at Asheville's drum circle can include residents, travelers, professionals, people of various races and ages, neighbors, churchgoers, pagans and pets. Like the old-time music and bluegrass jams for which Asheville is more well-known, the circle's broad appeal lies in its ability to connect human beings to each other. The drummers call Pritchard Park the "home" of the drum circle, and the drum circle has made what seems likely to be a permanent mark on Asheville. And so, the beat goes on.

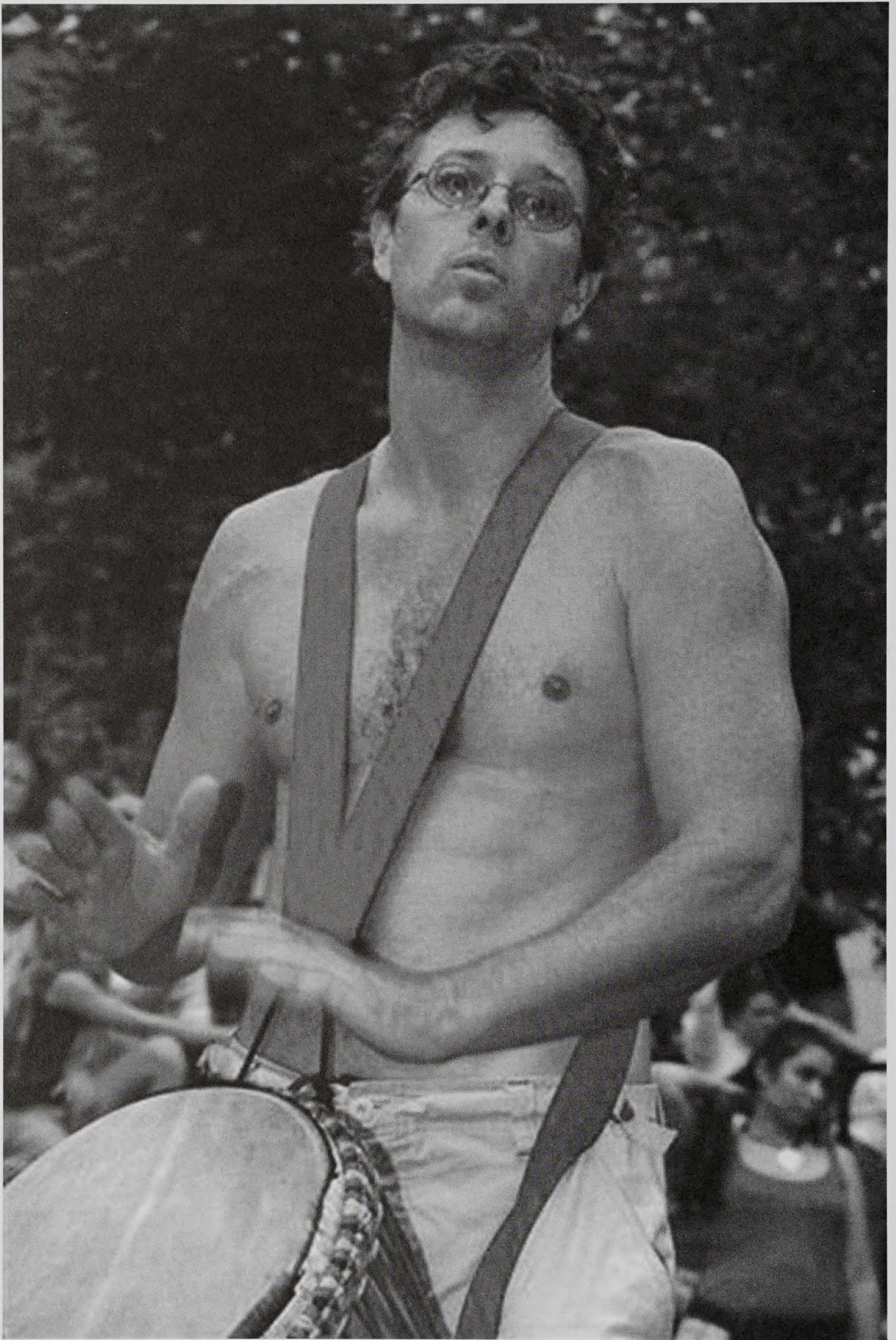
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2007 Brown-Hudson Folklore Awards

Clifford Howard Glenn: Banjo and Dulcimer Player and Maker

By Steve Kruger and Cece Conway

Clifford Glenn has skillfully made fretless mountain banjos and dulcimers in the Sugar Grove community since the 1950s. He comes from a unique family instrument-making tradition that stretches over four generations to the nineteenth century. He also represents a larger cultural tradition of the area around Beech Mountain and the Watauga River Valley. In homes along the labyrinth of winding dirt roads in and around the area, musicians from several prolific families played old-time music, told Jack Tales, and made traditional crafts, even after the surrounding region had largely shifted towards bluegrass and less traditional craft styles. This relatively small area produced National Endowment for the Arts heritage award winners Ray Hicks and Stanley Hicks, and North Carolina Heritage Award winners Leonard Glenn (Clifford's father) and Elsie Trivette. Tab Ward, Tedra Harmon, Hattie Presnell, Buna Hicks, Edd Presnell, and Monroe Presnell were also raised in the area, and were recorded by folklorists Frank and Anne Warner, Sandy Paton, Thomas Burton, Henry

Frame photograph: Brown-Hudson Folklore Award winner Barbara Lau adjusts microphones for Cambodian musicians at the 1993 meeting of the North Carolina Folklore Society at N.C. A & T University. Photo courtesy of Thomas McGowan.



Clifford Glenn displays his Brown-Hudson Folklore Award at his home, Western Watauga County, N.C., 21 Dec. 2007. Photo by Steve Kruger.

Glassie, and local musician Jack Guy. During the folk revival of the 1960s and 70s, a homegrown cottage industry of traditional craft production and instrument making provided many families with a second source of income. As late as the 70s and 80s, folklorists traveling through the region found a wealth of unaccompanied ballad singing, storytelling, and a rich mountain banjo and dulcimer tradition. Today, although a handful of elderly people and their descendants carry traditional ways, development is rapidly encroaching and continues to alter the community. Clifford Glenn stands out as one who maintains an unbroken family and Beech Mountain tradition in more than one form. At the same time, he has an individual style of clawhammer banjo and dulcimer playing and gives personal touches to the instruments he makes.

Clifford Glenn was born on December 29, 1935 and grew up on the land where he now lives with his wife, Maybelle. He was an only child but had a large extended family. Traditional music and storytelling were the family's main source of entertainment when

Clifford was young. One of Richard Chase's primary sources for his Jack and Grandfather Tale collections was Clifford's maternal grandfather, R.M. Ward. Clifford's father Leonard, known as "Lucky Glenn" (1910-1997), was a storyteller as well as a musician who played banjo for local dances. Leonard made his living at sawmills and construction sites, and by farming. Later, both he and Clifford raised tobacco and other crops on the mountainside above their home to supplement the food that came out of the garden. Leonard had made a few banjos as a young man, as had his father, Nathaniel Glenn. Dulcimer-making dated back to Clifford's great-grandfather, Eli Presnell. In the early 1950s, Leonard and Clifford both took up instrument-making during the slower winter months.

Their first instruments were sold to local residents, jewelry and furniture stores, and folk-music enthusiasts. With the rise of the folk revival and North Carolina mountain tourism, the orders began to pour in faster than instruments could be made. The Glenns began to work by request only, taking orders that came from as far away as Japan. From then on, instrument-making became their primary source of income, and they sometimes had orders backed up for more than a year. Clifford takes pride in the fact that they have never had to advertise. Word of mouth was enough.

The mountain banjo is a unique symbol of Appalachian people's resourcefulness and creativity. After the banjo reached the Southern mountains, most musicians started making their own. In the flatlands, the banjo eventually developed into a fretted and bracketed factory-made banjo. In the mountains, especially before the introduction of mail order catalogues, local musicians made banjos, like other instruments, from available material—local woods and animal hides for the instrument itself, which was strung with gut strings. The emerging mountain-style banjo remained fretless and used a flat neck and friction pegs for tuners. Eventually glue and screws held the pot together, and a skin head was stretched over a thin metal hoop. The hide was usually made with squirrel, groundhog, goat, or, occasionally cat hide. Clifford explains, with a wink, that he had to shoot a small squirrel through the left eye to have enough hide for a head. It is important to note that the mountain banjo is not a crude imitation of the factory-made five-string banjos. It has its own unique place in the instrument evolution and its own distinctive sound. The small size of the inset head (often only 10 inches), lack of frets, and softer sound is similar to earlier banjos and even some ancestral African instruments, such as the *akonting* or perhaps the *molo*. The instru-

ment has a soft tone that produces a style coveted among old-time musicians today. In this way, it serves as a bridge between its African roots and the white rural branches of the instrument's history. Despite the introduction of sales catalogues and improved roads into the mountains, the mountain banjo continues to be preferred and made by several skilled craftsmen.

The mountain banjos made by Clifford Glenn are archetypal. They are carved from mostly native woods: walnut, cherry, maple, even wormy American chestnut. Screws are covered with dowels of a contrasting color to create a simple but striking look. No stain or coloring is used. Instead, the instruments are waxed, accentuating the natural grain and color of the wood. Clifford's individuality emerges in the different designs for the peg heads and the pegs themselves, both of which he carves by hand. The size of the head, the attachment of the tailpiece, and the beveled neck tab distinguish Glenn instruments from other Beech Mountain makers. When Foxfire was putting out the third volume of their series, they visited the area looking for banjo makers. Clifford and Leonard are both featured in the book.

The dulcimer came into this region relatively recently. According to Clifford and other instrument makers in the area, in the 1880s a "stranger from the west" (probably West Virginia or Kentucky) spent the night with Clifford's great-grandparents Eli and America Presnell. He carried an odd hourglass-shaped instrument from which Eli made a pattern and, eventually, two dulcimers. The one surviving dulcimer Eli used as a sled before it was taken to the Glenns to be repaired in the 1960s. The Glenns made a pattern from that dulcimer that has remained one of their most requested styles, tying their dulcimers back to the instrument's origin in the area. The Glenns' first dulcimers were of their own design (though possibly inspired by seeing other dulcimers) made in what is referred to as the "boat" or "Virginia" style. Clifford made his first dulcimer in that shape at the age of 19 from his own pattern and sold it to folklorist John Putnam for twenty dollars.

Clifford Glenn taught himself his first tune, "Cripple Creek," on the banjo after hearing his father play it around his home. He developed a very unusual style of playing. Clifford notes by up-stroking with his pinky, strumming and hitting the fifth string in between the notes of the melody. His early repertoire was mostly dance tunes like "Johnson Boys" and "Bonaparte's Retreat," and ballads and songs such as "John Henry." Today, he plays mostly traditional gospel mu-

sic with a family group. His instrument of choice is a fretted banjo made by his father, because he can use a capo for accompanying singing in different keys. When Clifford Glenn plays dulcimer, he uses his fingers and thumb instead of a noter because he likes making chords on the instrument. His banjo playing can be heard on the Foxfire release *It Still Lives*, a collection of recordings by instrument makers, and on the DVD *Banjo and Dulcimer Maker and Player Clifford Glenn*, by the authors. Order by e-mail for \$25 from StevendKruger@gmail.com or conwayec@email.unc.edu.

Clifford and Maybelle Presnell (named for "Mother" Maybelle of the Carter Family) were married in 1964. In 1965, their daughter Lisa was born. Lisa later took up the dulcimer and published an instructional manual for playing the instrument. Maybelle, who learned from Lisa and her book, plays beautiful duets with Clifford, strumming a dulcimer he made for her out of 100 year old cherry. She has also made quilted cases for the instruments, as Clifford's mother Clara did, and jewelry out of the gems that Clifford, a rock hound, has dug up around the state.

When asked what he wanted to say at the end of one of our interviews, Clifford thought for a moment and said, "I want people to play the instruments. I don't want them just hanging on a wall somewhere. That's what they're for. I try to make them look beautiful but I want them to be played." For him, instrument making is the first step in making music. He wants to keep the music alive. Today, there are few Appalachian dulcimer or mountain-banjo makers in North Carolina who come from an unbroken tradition stretching over 100 years. Clifford Glenn makes both and is one of the last of the older generation of musicians playing banjo and dulcimer in the Beech Mountain style. When we listen to music, we often forget the connections that once existed between the sound and the material world, the uniqueness of the land and community where it originated. We can too easily forget that there were once places like the community that Clifford Glenn grew up in. Places where a melody began as a maple tree growing out of the mountain soil that was then cut and shaped by the same hands that would strum out "Cripple Creek" and "Alms of Victory."

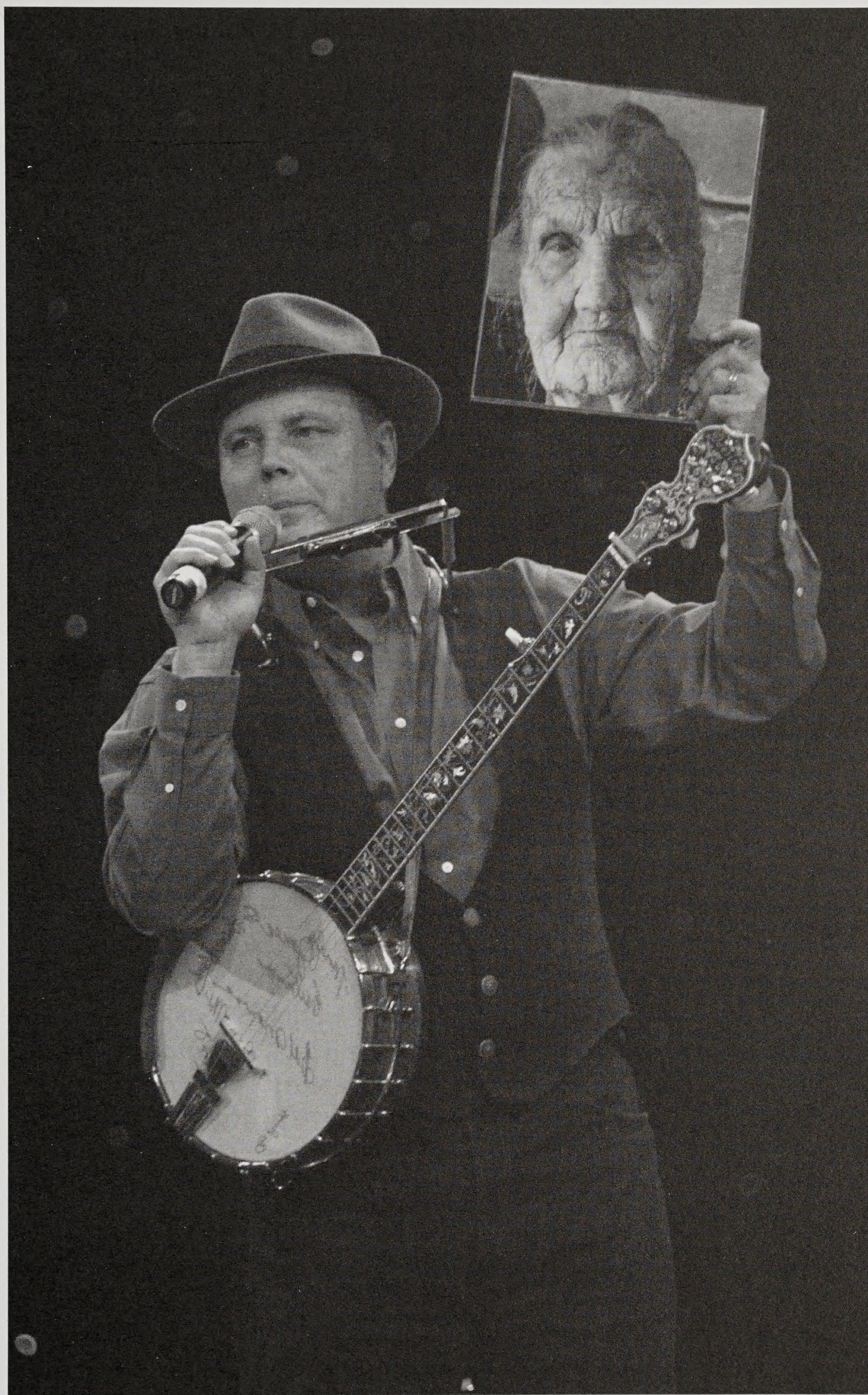
David Holt: Scholar, Performer, and Producer of Folklore Programs

By Laura Boosinger

Many of the recipients of the Brown-Hudson Folklore Award have a singular specialty. They might be keepers of their family's traditional craft, whether it is ballad singing or throwing pots. Some are known for writing and educating by exploring cultural roots and traditions in our state. Others have kept alive a unique community event. It is rare to see a person merge as many folk art traditions as David Holt has. His contributions to the state of North Carolina through his work in preserving and showcasing our heritage, and through his ability to communicate these traditions to a variety of audiences, are remarkable.

David came to North Carolina in 1968. His quest seemed singular and simple, finding those keepers of the clawhammer banjo styles. But David discovered more than banjo music. He found communities of musicians who broke the stereotypes of the reclusive mountaineer. Dellie Norton in Sodom shared her centuries-old ballads, similar to those collected in 1915 by Cecil Sharp. He heard Luke and Harold Smathers in Canton, whose style of string band music merged with the sound of the swing bands they heard on the radio to create "Mountain Swing." He learned from Etta Baker in Morganton, an African/Native American woman whose Piedmont blues guitar style had largely been ignored. There was Virgil Craven from the Piedmont, the last of the traditional hammered dulcimer players in the South. And there was the master storyteller, unaffected by the 20th century, Ray Hicks from the "old" Beech Mountain. He also sought out Susie Brunson, 122 years old and voting in Wilmington. She showed David how a washboard is supposed to be played. David searched for musicians of all types, blues and old-time, bluegrass bands and ballad singers, dancers, and dance callers. Many of these folks were found less than 60 miles from Fairview, North Carolina, where he raised his family and made his home.

David began the Appalachian Music Program at Warren Wilson College in 1975. It was the first undergraduate academic program in which students had the opportunity to study, collect, and learn the traditional music of the region. The keystone of the program was



Photograph courtesy of David Holt from <www.davidholt.com>.

bringing in artists from the area to teach the courses; ballad singing with the singers from Sodom Laurel in Madison County; fiddling with Liz and Lynn Smathers-Shaw from Haywood County; and flat-pick guitar and country harmony singing with Bucky Hanks from Buncombe County. The Appalachian Music Program also produced a concert series that showcased musicians from the region to community members beyond the college community. There was the Farmer's Federation Band with Johnny Rhymer and Chub Parham from Leicester. In the 1930s and 40s, their band traveled throughout Western North Carolina to play picnics which were hosted by Jim McClure in an effort to organize mountain farmers for economic gain. In the 1980s, they became the "house band" for Western North Carolina Congressman James McClure Clarke. Ralph Lewis, a former Bluegrass Boy, and his two young sons Marty (11) and Don (9) came to play. They perform these days as the widely popular "The Sons of Ralph featuring Ralph." And there was the momentous night when Wiley and Zeke Morris graced the stage and sang their song "The Salty Dog Blues." This wasn't history in a book. This was living history, in the flesh, in your face, and something that made you want this in your life. Many of David's students pursued these traditions in their own way. Jeff Robbins went on to share music and stories with countless numbers of school children across the South. Susi Gott became a well known Bluegrass fiddler and has taken her music to France. Tim Duffy started the Music Maker Relief Foundation to "help the true pioneers and forgotten heroes of Southern music gain recognition and meet their day-to-day needs" ("The Music Maker Mission"). Mike Geiger played guitar in the Appalachians string band and then went on to Nashville to write songs for major country artists.

In addition to marking these students for life, David began the Mountain Music Archives, a repository for videos, photographs, and audio tapes of musicians, dance callers, and storytellers from throughout the surrounding counties. The goal was to provide an archive for future generations to re-visit the distinct gifts of their forebears.

David's real gift has been his ease in communicating the importance of these traditional arts to audiences from Bolivia to Brevard. As host of the Nashville Network's "Fire on the Mountain," David showcased musicians from the Southern Mountains to a national audience. Through his work with North Carolina Public Television, David brought our traditional crafts, music, and more importantly, these artisans into the living rooms of fellow North Carolinians through UNC-TV's "Folkways."

As David began to meet and know these artists, he began to document them and their work in another way. David is an accomplished photographer and has captured the essence of many of his friends through his photography. During his concerts, David introduces audiences to his mentors through a story, a song, and often a visual image. The 2006 Spring/Summer edition of *The North Carolina Folklore Journal* featured his work.

In recent years, David can be found traveling with guitar legend Doc Watson. Their days on the road nurtured a relationship which allowed Doc to share stories of his personal and professional history with David. These interviews, illustrated by Doc's guitar playing and singing, resulted in 72-page booklet and three CD set that has been called Doc's audio-biography. The collection was deemed significant by members of the National Recording Arts and Sciences and awarded the Grammy Award for Best Traditional Folk Music Recording of 2002.

As a collector, preserver, performer, and communicator of our traditional folk art in North Carolina, David Holt has proven to be a worthy ambassador.

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Barbara Lau: Folklorist, Exhibit and Festival Organizer, and Social Activist

By Sally Peterson

Folklorist Barbara Lau is a scholar, ethnographer, administrator, advocate, activist, and artist. She began “stepping out of the box” as an undergraduate in Sociology and Urban Studies at Washington University in St. Louis, where volunteer interests and school projects propelled her into the worlds of festival and museum presentation. She began developing her expertise at technical and curatorial matters “seat-of-the-pants” style—no one else on the projects quite knew how to handle sound equipment, or how to track artifacts, or write publicity copy, so Barbara, always a quick-study, shouldered the responsibility and got a myriad of unanticipated tasks done, and done right. Barbara spent five years as a festival program coordinator for the Smithsonian’s Folklife Festival, an intense and demanding job that requires not only technical skill, but an ability to think on your feet (or even with your feet), make instant executive decisions, and manage the needs and desires of people unfamiliar with festival culture, city culture, and often American culture! Barbara thrived in this atmosphere, and the seeds of advocacy planted in her soul surely began to sprout and blossom. Barbara’s competence at festival coordination reached far beyond the complex skills required in production; she touched the very lives of the participants through her abundant gifts of empathy, observation, and communication. She has a knack for establishing rapport, for bridging gaps of education and experience, and for being able to “just be” with people whose differences enliven the exchange, rather than discourage it.

Barbara Lau came to North Carolina in 1991 to work on her master’s degree in the Curriculum in Folklore at the University of North Carolina. During her time in North Carolina, she has continued her special role as presenter and organizer, done important fieldwork on a range of North Carolina traditions, written thoughtfully on women’s folklore and the creative adaptation of Cambodians to Piedmont settings, developed important community programs at Duke University, and been a model for collaborative work among folklorists and others. As part of a course with Terry Zug, Barbara did fieldwork in one of the oldest and most noted of North Carolina traditional crafts—Seagrove pottery—but she focused in special ways



Barbara Lau on the grounds of the Center for Documentary Studies, Duke University, Durham, N.C. Photo by Chris Sims.

on the role of female turners and burners. A course paper became an article "A Woman at the Wheel: Issues of Gender in a North Carolina Pottery Tradition," which won the Cratis D. Williams Student Prize of our society in 1993 and was published in the *North Carolina Folklore Journal* (41.1:1-13).

From 1993 to 1995, Barbara managed the Southern Arts Federation's Sisters of the South tour, which featured the music and storytelling of notable female Southern tradition-bearers from European-American, Cherokee, and African-American cultural groups, including such important North Carolina folk artists as Edna Chekelelee, the Badgett Sisters, and Sheila Kay Adams. The Appalachian State University performance of the Sisters of the South tour in 1994 incorporated the presentation of the Brown-Hudson Folklore Award to ballad singer Mrs. Bessie Eldreth in her home county, and the traveling tour was an important recognition of Southern female folk artists.

During this same graduate school time, Barbara also became interested in one of North Carolina's newest folk groups, Cambodian immigrants settling in the Piedmont. Their expression of cultural identity in local Buddhist festivals became the topic of her master's thesis, and she became a special supporter of Cambodian religious, festival, and dance activities. Building on her master thesis, in 1995

Barbara developed a documentation project through grants from the North Carolina Arts Council to research Cambodian-American folk activities in the Greensboro area. Her fieldwork, collaboration with photographers and videographers, and thoughtful analysis led to a watershed exhibit of Cambodian folklife at the Greensboro Historical Museum, an important overview essay "From Cambodia to Greensboro: Tracing the Journeys of New North Carolinians" published in the exhibit's catalog and as a special issue of the *North Carolina Folklore Journal*, and an award-winning children's book written with Kris Nesbitt, *Sokita Celebrates the New Year: A Cambodian American Holiday*. Her special organizational abilities also brought Cambodian musicians and youth dancers to our Society's 1993 annual meeting at N.C. A & T University, and she wrote and presented the Brown-Hudson Folklore Award citation for Pramaha Somsak Sambimb, a Buddhist monk who has promoted folk arts among the Greensboro Cambodian community.

Barbara created a niche for herself as an independent folklorist, conducting research, creating programs, and raising over a million dollars for such institutions as the Southern Arts Federation, the Institute of American Indian Arts, the Ackland Art Museum, Arts Midwest, the National Museum of the American Indian and the National Council for the Traditional Arts. Many of her clients continue to call upon her for advice and expertise.

Since 1999 Barbara has been the Community Documentary Programs Coordinator at the Center for Documentary Studies at Duke University, where she has developed special perspectives and skills through her successful collaborations with both cultural workers and community members, accomplishments that serve as inspiring examples to her colleagues and students. Barbara brings the sensitivities of a fieldworking folklorist to her position at CDS. For instance, when faced with the emotionally challenging consequences of presenting the starkly moving exhibit of condemned prisoners' mugshots taken in an infamous Phnom Penh prison, CDS followed Barbara's suggestion of inviting Pramaha Somsak Sombimb, the Thai Monk who is Greensboro's Buddhist spiritual leader, to perform purification and propitiation ceremonies at the exhibit site. The persimmon tree he planted in the courtyard is budding once again in memory of those so cruelly murdered.

Although the above descriptions of Barbara's work account for a fully engaged mind and heart, they do not explain the restlessness that invades her at the conclusion of a project, or that spur that drives

her to seek ever deeper meanings and the means to express them, or the continual desire to find ways to give voice to truths that need telling. Those words don't tell us why she is held in great love and esteem by the communities who entrust their stories to her. They don't help us to understand the grave self-doubts and stern takings-of-self-to-task that accompany her finest efforts. Comprehension comes when we recognize that for Barbara Lau, folklore is a calling.

The phenomenon of 'the call' is of course familiar to us from descriptions of spiritual experiences of those moved to preach the gospel. But the analogy is apt when we examine the phenomenology of the call. To paraphrase one description, *certainty* of the call is not only necessary for sending you into the field, nothing is more essential for keeping you there. Regardless of the blessings and fruitfulness granted to your service, there will be dark, heavy days when you would walk away if it weren't for the bedrock of assurance that you are doing what you are called to do. Part of the call is *aspiration*, an irrepressible desire to engage in the work. It is a compulsion. Barbara's periods of rest and relaxation are very brief. This aspiration is also *self-sacrificing*. You willingly enter into a state where your needs do not come first. You give of your time, your energy, your knowledge, your compassion, your emotions. Those who are called are equipped with the gifts and abilities they need. One essential skill is the ability to *teach*. Barbara's recent innovative and collaborative courses through the Center for Documentary Studies and North Carolina Central University challenge the status quo and stretch the boundaries of the classroom. Her students are many, and they are devoted.

The public side of the call is *confirmation by others* and *verification* in the response to your efforts. That we have presented this award in order to do just that is not to mark the culmination of Barbara's efforts, but to assure her that we know that she is answering a call, and that we are blessed to be able to witness to her efforts to follow that call. We look forward to the new projects that will open us to new insights, and we patiently await the book inside her that is currently gestating. With the bestowal of the Brown-Hudson Award, we thank Barbara for all she has taught and shown us, and tell her that we will surely call upon her to do more.

Community Traditions Award: Music Maker Relief Foundation

By Molly Matlock

Cool John Ferguson was performing at the All People's Grill, a non-descript cinder block juke joint resting like a carelessly flung Lego in a rural Durham County field. It had been a rough summer for my family in 2002, and, at the urging of Denise Duffy of the Music Maker Relief Foundation, I'd brought some friends along to experience something that promised catharsis.

I had never heard of Cool John or the All People's Grill, and at 9:30 pm it didn't seem like there was going to be much excitement. There were a few kids present, some elders, the proprietors, and Cool John, who sat alone in a booth at the front section of the building. My friends and I ordered some rough-cut french fries, doused them with vinegar, and claimed some good seats along the wall in the next room.

This room is also where the band's gear was set up. Multi-colored Christmas lights embellished the plain, white walls. A doorway across the dance floor opened onto the field, framing a couple of smokers laughing at each other's jokes or maybe just at each other. Over the next hour and a half, an array of fans arrived and took their usual spots as regulars. The menagerie included college students, buttoned-up professionals, buttonless hippies, and retirees of all economic and ethnic strata. "This must be why they call it 'All People's,'" a friend leaned close to say.

At 11 pm, Cool John began to play the blues. Like magic, Sleeping Beauty's spell was broken. EVERYONE began to dance—even my husband at the time, who was simply not a dancer. For the first time in many months, I was truly connected to the people around me, and I felt I had known each stranger in that room my whole life. My friends later corroborated the sensation. Cool John owned the room; bobbing to the beat, his drummer resembled a happy dog with its head hanging out a car window. We all felt that good.

Cool John was clearly a star, and he developed the life and the following his talents warranted partly because of the Music Maker Relief Foundation (MMRF). For the past 11 years, MMRF has been helping musicians like Cool John preserve the Southern traditions

that most of them learned to play simply “by listening” (Wilkes). In 2007, their roster includes over 100 traditional musicians whose annual income falls below \$18,000.00. A few other MMRF artists have included Etta Baker, Joe Thompson, and Benton Flippen.

As a 501(c)(3), MMRF’s programs focus on musician sustenance (grants to meet basic life needs and emergency relief), musical development (grants and services for recipient artist professional development and career advancement), and cultural access (supporting the preservation and proliferation of American musical traditions). The organization, founded by folklorist husband and wife power duo Tim and Denise Duffy, boasts a mythic history worthy of an Oscar-contending major motion picture in the vein of *Dreamgirls*. The Duffys’ efforts began with the powerful friendship between Tim and bluesman Guitar Gabriel. Duffy recalls his first encounter with Gabe: “He took one look at me and said, ‘Where you been so long? I know where you want to go. I’ve been there before and I can take you there.’” After several years of performing together in clubs and at festivals, Duffy worried about Gabe’s and other musicians’ financial struggles:

I became deeply disturbed by the difficult choices they had to make each month: food or medicine, rent or the car, heat or the telephone. I dedicated myself to finding a way to help these artists and the many others I was beginning to meet . . . I began to pick everyone up on check day in my old van and take them to the grocery store, to the post office to get money orders, then downtown to pay the utility bills and back home again.

With the celebrity support of other artists like Eric Clapton, Bonnie Raitt, Jackson Browne, B.B. King, and Mark Levinson, the Duffy’s efforts grew into a full-blown internationally respected and recognized organization. One of many MMRF programs includes their hunger relief initiative entitled “Feed an Artist for a Year,” in which donors can contribute \$25 a month for one year to assist a single artist with his/her grocery bill. In addition to meeting basic needs, Music Maker takes musicians, who otherwise may have never afforded crossing state lines, to play some of the finest venues in Europe, South America, and elsewhere. Moreover, they bring these musicians to people who may otherwise lack opportunity to hear these traditions performed live and with so much passion and raw talent.

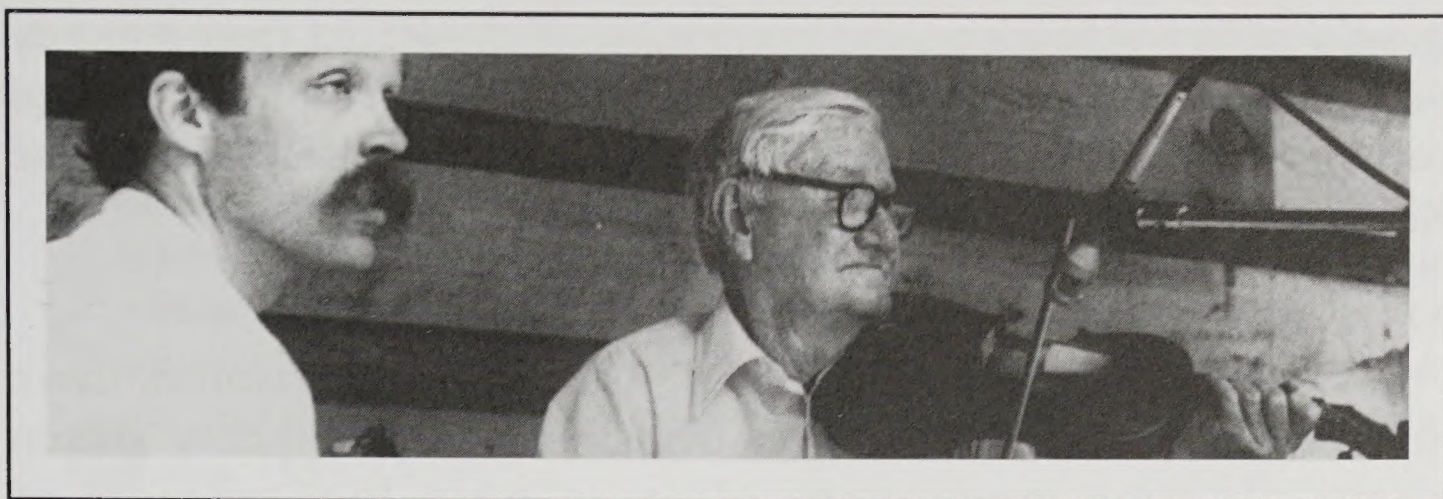
MMRF has attracted much attention to the folklife profession through regular press features in such publications as *The Oxford*

American Magazine, *Readers' Digest*, and much more. In this way, MMRF also locates loopholes in the homogenizing influences of media conglomeration, which often exclude traditional music as too unpopular for the airwaves. MMRF puts roots back in the limelight through their extensive website, aggressive marketing campaigns and promotions, recordings, exhibits, festivals, concerts, books, and other documentary projects—many of the folklife professional's best tools of the trade.

I have experienced many MMRF sponsored performances now. I have even followed Cool John from venue to venue like a latter-day blues-loving "Deadhead." Through that time I have learned that although MMRF's focus is on artistry, it includes much more than artistry. It recognizes the importance of the community context in which artistry arises and flourishes. It makes the most of the bonds of support such artistry creates—the power of music to connect people together and to help them transcend the harder circumstances of the human condition. This happens simultaneously for performer and audience. I mentioned that MMRF utilizes the best tools of the folklife trade. Indeed, they employ the most critical of these: compassion and heart.

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"Sally Ann" and the Blue-Ridge String-band Tradition

By James Ruchala

INTRODUCTION

In September 2002, I was playing banjo at an old-time music gathering in Pennsylvania. Walt Koken and Claire Milliner were leading a small group of us through one notey, melodic tune after another. After a particularly twisty selection, Walt sighed and said, to no one in particular, "Good ol' Sally Ann." What Koken meant was that we were playing "difficult" old-time music, or trying to anyway (I myself was just trying to keep up). We were not playing the same old common-as-dirt chestnuts that make up the bulk of most traditional fiddlers' repertoires. In the old-time community, "Sally Ann" is often used as an example of the kind of tune everyone knows and plays. Kevin Donleavy calls it "a kind of *lingua franca*, a form of musical speech common to countless musicianers through countless decades" (244). More tongue-in-cheek is the saying: "There are only really four old-time tunes, and three of them are 'Sally Ann'" (Wooley 319).

The story of "Sally Ann" is complex, though, and the various ways in which it has been played, arranged, accompanied and transmitted over the last century can tell us a lot about the evergreen issues of tradition and revival, continuity and change, insider and outsider, and music and dance. By looking at the history of this tune as it has

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Frame photograph: Surry County fiddler Tommy Jarrell (r) plays with folklorist Blanton Owen at the North Carolina Bicentennial Folk Festival, Eno River Park in 1976. Photo by Thomas McGowan.

been performed by successive generations of musicians, from a mountain singer in 1918 to a band of revivalists in the 1990s, I will attempt to hear the history of old-time music in a small section of the Blue Ridge and Piedmont.

METHOD AND MODELS

In studying a single tune and its variations and variability, there are a few scholarly models to draw from. Folklorists who have written about old-time music have often taken a biographical or discographical approach, writing about the migrations, occupations, and recording careers of musicians more than about the music they made (Wolfe, Wiggins, Tribe, Rorrer, Milnes, Donleavy, Cauthen, Carlin, Anderson-Green). The few ethnomusicologists who have written extensively about this music have taken an approach in which the music is often removed from context and subjected to analysis according to a grand theory such as Schenkerian analysis (Burman-Hall) or the Historic-Geographic method (Goertzen).

A third approach to studying the history of American fiddling is provided by Thomas Carter's essay "I Never Could Play Alone: The Emergence of the New River Valley String Band, 1875-1925." Carter begins by revisiting his fieldwork as a graduate student in the University of North Carolina's Curriculum in Folklore during the early 1970s. Much to his surprise, he learned that some of the older fiddlers he interviewed in Alleghany County, North Carolina did not consider "Sally Ann" an old tune. It and other local favorites like "Down the Road" and "Back-Step Cindy" had come into the area from somewhere else, probably between 1880 and 1900. Furthermore, many of the tunes that had been played by the generation preceding that of Carter's informants were no longer in general circulation, having been supplanted by these newer pieces (51-52). This came as a minor shock to the young folklorist who, in keeping with the "basically antiquarian approach to folk music" of the 1970s, believed that change was "suspect, leading to the ultimate demise of the tradition." If the tradition he was studying was so tenacious and conservative, what could explain these changes? The answer was creativity, an area Carter "once thought foreign to folklore" (53).

As Carter goes on to explain, folklorists have since come to recognize that traditions are dynamic:

Folk things, whether they be stories, fiddle tunes, or houses, are not unreflectingly transported through time by the simple act of copying and repeating older forms. Rather, folk performance constitutes a

process whereby customary and traditionally acquired knowledge is constantly being reinterpreted in specific performance situations or contexts that bring the folk performer into direct contact with the tastes, values, and norms of his or her group or community. As older traditional ways are exposed to new and innovative ideas, several outcomes may be expected. There can be the retention of the old, or the wholesale adoption of the new, or, as is often the case, the synthesis of old and new concepts and the creation of new if nonetheless familiar forms. (53)

Starting from this set of assumptions, Carter goes on to reconstruct the history of the string band in the New River Valley of Virginia and North Carolina. Taking as his primary texts the recorded history of fiddle and banjo music in the area, Carter attempts to trace the historical and material changes in the region, and identify the ways that these changes, along with the creativity of individual musicians, have altered the music over time.

My method draws on Carter's paradigm and can, in some ways, be read as an extension of his history up to the present day. I will look at patterns of population and interchange, the effects of certain types of migration and the influence of a particularly creative circle of musicians. Carter draws on a wide variety of tunes to illustrate his points. I have chosen to focus on a single tune, "Sally Ann." It is hoped that, by analyzing a single tune, the variations that different fiddlers have played upon it will stand out in greater relief.

GEOGRAPHY

The area in which the musicians in the present study lived is the same as that studied by Carter—the New River Valley and Blue Ridge foothills. This area comprises Alleghany, Ashe, and Surry counties in North Carolina and Grayson and Carroll counties in Virginia. The Blue Ridge Mountains run through Surry and Carroll counties, marking the eastern edge of the Appalachian range. Round Peak, North Carolina and Lamsburg, Virginia are at the far western edge of the Piedmont. Galax, Virginia and Ennice, North Carolina are in the mountains. The Blue Ridge was a formidable barrier to travel until well into the 20th century and was in many ways a more significant demarcation line than any state or county border. The amount of interchange between the "below the mountain" communities of Round Peak and Lamsburg would have been higher than that between Round Peak and the "up the mountain" community of Ennice, for example.

OLD TIME "SALLY ANN"

"Sally Ann" is among the most widespread of Appalachian fiddle tunes. It has been played by fiddlers throughout the southern Appalachians but is rare outside this region and, despite its general reputation as an old tune, it is not found in any source before the 20th century or outside North America. In 1918, Cecil Sharp notated a single verse and chorus sung by Mrs. Delie Hughes of Burnsville, North Carolina (see transcription 1). The lyric that Mrs. Hughes sang was:

O where are you going, Sally Anne?
 O where are you going, Sally Anne?
 O where are you going, Sally Anne?
 I'm going to the wedding Sally Anne.

O shake that little foot Sally Anne.
 O shake that little foot Sally Anne.
 O shake that little foot Sally Anne.
 You're a pretty good dancer, Sally Anne.
 (Sharp 351)

"Sally Ann" is a representative member of the larger family of tunes that includes "Great Big Taters in Sandy Land" as recorded by Eck Robertson of Texas and "Sail Away Ladies" as recorded by Uncle Bunt Stephens and Uncle Dave Macon of Tennessee. Henry Reed (1884-1968) of Glen Lyn, Virginia learned his version of "Sally Ann" in A from George Will White, a black fiddler who lived in Monroe County, West Virginia (Jabbour). In Virginia, tunes of the "Sally Ann" family also go by such titles as "Beano," "Dineo" and "Darneo" (Carter). Pug Allen's "Beano" (see transcription 2) is a fairly simple setting in the key of A from Stuarts Draft, Virginia, in the Shenandoah Valley. Other examples of "Sally Ann" in the key of A were recorded by Freeny's Barn Dance Band of Mississippi and John Johnson of West Virginia.

This family is characterized by a melody in the high strain that strongly implies a harmonic move from the tonic to the subdominant¹, back to the tonic, through the dominant and ending on in the tonic, as follows:

| I | IV | | I | | V | | I |

The lower strain or strains of tunes in this family are typified by minimal melodic content, often little more than an alternation be-

tween the first and third scale degrees, usually remaining firmly within compass of the tonic chord. The musical interest of this part is usually derived from the rhythmic treatment. This lower strain is often the one to which words are sung. The lower strain is also usually half as long as the higher one, requiring it to be played twice as many times if the tune is to come out "square," though this is by no means a universal practice, as will be seen below.

One interesting exception to the general ubiquity of "Sally Ann" in the Southern Appalachians is provided by Sid Caudill, a fiddler from Alleghany County, North Carolina. Caudill learned his repertoire from older players such as the legendary Green Leonard of Oldtown, Virginia, probably in the 1870s-1880s. In his study of the string band tradition in the New River Valley, Thomas Carter interviewed and recorded several of Sid Caudill's children, including Joe, Huston, and Clell. When interviewing Huston (called "Hus"), the oldest child of Sid Caudill and the one who learned most directly from his father, Carter asked about "Sally Ann." Hus said his father never played that tune, and explained that it had "come in" to the area via one of Sid's brothers, banjo-playing Fate Caudill (Carter 51-52). "Sally Ann" was also absent from the repertoire of Emmett Lundy of Dalhart, Virginia, another fiddler of Sid Caudill's generation who learned from Green Leonard (59-60). "Sally Ann" did make it into the repertoire of all the younger generation of Caudill musicians, most of whom learned to play in the early years of the 20th century.

Somewhere along the line, the tune was moved from the key of A or G to D. It may have been moved to this key before being brought into the area. The changes in key necessitate some changes in the melodic contour. While the "Beano" type settings of the tune begin on the octave and fall to the sixth scale degree, suggesting the subdominant chord, the New River version in D begins on the fifth scale degree—coincidentally or not, in the key of D, this is the same note, A—and usually rises to the sixth scale degree.

FRANK BLEVINS

Frank Blevins and His Tar Heel Rattlers, a band from Ashe County in the northwest corner of North Carolina, recorded an exuberant setting of "Sally Ann" in the unusual key of C for Columbia in 1927 (transcription 3). Though his recorded output was only four sides, Frank Blevins seems to have had a predilection for playing tunes in flatter keys than fiddlers in surrounding areas. His setting of "Fly Around My Pretty Little Miss," for example, is in G, while most Galax

and Surry County area fiddlers perform this tune in D. The Blevins band plays the lower strain first on this recording. The verses to this recording are as follows:

1. Shake that little foot Sally Ann
Going to the wedding Sally Ann (woo)
2. Round the corner, playing sand (?)
All night long with Sally Ann (woo)
3. Shake that little foot Sally Ann
I'm going home with Sally Ann (woo)
4. Roast xxx xxx xxx (?), put 'em in a pan
I'll eat some with Sally Ann (woo)

The schematic in figure 1, as in all others in this study represents the sequence of parts in a performance. Each row represents a single time-through of the tune. Longer blocks represent strains of eight measures length (such as A below) and shorter blocks represent strains of four measures (such as B). When letters are accompanied by numerals, it indicates that one of the verses enumerated above is sung to that strain.

Figure 1. Structure of Frank Blevins
and the Tar Heel Rattlers' "Sally Ann" 1927

B	B	B'	A		
B1	B	B'	A		
B2	B	B'	A		
B	B3	B	B'	A	
B	B4	B	B'	A	A
B3	B	B'	A		
B	B'	A			
B3	B	B'	A		
B	B'	A			

Note the sequence of parts as illustrated in figure 1. The high strain, or A part, is played once each time through, with one exception. The low strain, or B part, is usually played three times, except when the singer comes in late, in which case they play it an extra time after his verse. The high A in the B' strain may be Frank Blevins' signal to the group that he is about to return to the A part. By playing this tune in C (I'm not aware of any other setting of this tune in this key), Frank

Blevins is able to access an exceptionally high note in his A part without going into a higher position on the fiddle. The use of a constant drone on the open E string on the B part also lends this setting a distinctive sound. The banjo player on this recording, Fred Miller, modeled his playing on that of Charlie Poole, a popular recording artist of the time (Wyatt 10-11). This style of accompaniment primarily involves picking chords with the thumb and the first two fingers and only makes occasional gestures towards playing the melody.

AL HOPKINS AND THE HILL BILLIES

Al Hopkins and the Hill Billies recorded a fairly straightforward version of "Sally Ann" in D for Vocalion in 1926 (transcription 4) and again in 1927. Though the band was based in Galax, Virginia, the lead fiddler of the Hill Billies was Charlie Bowman of Tennessee. The Hill Billies, then, were something of a summit-meeting of talented musicians representing a fairly wide area of the Appalachians. Both of their recordings of "Sally Ann" feature some very stilted vocals by Mr. Hopkins. The 1926 record also has a banjo break by John Rector. It is hard to be certain, but the break sounds almost like Rector is playing the banjo with a flat-pick. On most times-through, the banjo plays a chordal accompaniment.

Again, I would like to point out the arrangement and repetition of the strains and the way these elements relate to the vocal part. The tune is performed seven times through completely, with the high strain played twice before the ending tag.

Each verse of the lyric takes the length of a single playing of the B part to perform. There are three discrete verses:

1. Going to the wedding Sally Ann
 Going to the wedding Sally Ann
2. Shake that little foot, Sally Ann
 Shake that little foot, Sally Ann.
3. Sift your meal and save the bran.
 Going to the wedding Sally Ann.

The relationship of the vocals to the tune structure is represented in the following table. The numerals next to the letter indicate which of the above verses is sung to that part.

Figure 2. Structure of Al Hopkins and the Hill Billies
"Sally Anne" (1926).

A	A	B1	B2	B	
A	A'	B	B		
A	A	B3	B1	B	
A	A	B	B		
A	A	B2	B1	B	
A	A'	B	B		
A	A	B	B	B	
A	A	TAG			

As this table shows, the high strain ("A") is always played twice on each time-through, while the low strain ("B") is usually played twice if there is no singing. If there is singing, the low strain is played an extra time before cycling back to the A part. On the seventh time-through, the low strain is played an extra time, even though there is no singing.

TOMMY JARRELL'S "OLD TIME SALLY ANN"

Outside of the recording studio, "Sally Ann" was ubiquitous in New River Valley region. Mark Sanderford tells the following story:

Back when I first got to Galax it seemed like everybody in the country could play an instrument. I remember going to one auction sale and this fellow was standing there—he had just walked over from across the street and was watching the sale going on, and Wade Ward handed him his fiddle and said, 'Here, play us a tune.' And the guy said, 'I don't know how to play.' Uncle Wade told him, 'Well, play Sally Ann—there's not a man alive that can't play Sally Ann.' So the fellow played 'Sally Ann', and it wasn't bad! To this day I don't know who the fellow was. (Gerrard and Sanderford 30)

The unknown fiddler that Sanderford remembers most likely played something like the Hill Billies version. This version was the setting that Tommy Jarrell remembered as the "old timey" way of playing "Sally Ann." Followers of Jarrell now retronymically refer to this version as "Old Time Sally Ann." Jarrell's "Old Time Sally Ann" (transcription 5) follows the model of the Hill Billies record, starting out with a phrase that emphasizes the high A and indicating the subdominant by moving up to the B. The verses to the "Old Time Sally Ann" are:

- 1. Did you ever see a muskrat, Sally Ann?
Draggin' his slick tail through the sand.
- 2. I'm a ridin' in the buggy, yes I am,
I'm ridin' in the buggy Sally Ann.
- 3. I'm a goin' to the weddin', yes I am,
I'm a goin' to the weddin' Sally Ann.
- 4. Sally's in the garden, playing in the sand,
Susan's in bed with the hog-eyed man.
- 5. I'm goin' home with old Sally Ann,
I'm a goin' home with old Sally Ann.

Figure 3 shows the part order and verse placement as heard on County CD 2725. The notation "(low)" after a letter indicates that Jarrell plays the strain in the lower octave.

Figure 3. Structure of Tommy Jarrell's "Old Time Sally Ann" on County CD-2725.

A	A	B	B	
A	A	B	B1	B B
A	A (low)	B(low)	B(low)	
A	A	B2	B	B3 B
A	A	B	B	B
A(low)	A(low)	B(low)	B(low)	
A	A	B4	B	B5
A	A	B	B	

On no recordings of the newer "Sally Ann" does Tommy sing the first verse ("Did you ever see a muskrat..."), but on both recordings I have heard of Tommy playing "Old Time Sally Ann" he sang this verse first, suggesting that he strongly associated it with this tune. Note also the frequent use of "I'm a..." at the beginnings of lines. This prelude parallels the rhythm of the fiddle part nicely and, as will be seen below, is absent from the newer version of "Sally Ann." The modifier "old" in verse 5 may be Tommy's way of referring to the old-time pedigree of this version, as he does not use "old" in the later version. Verses 3 and 5 are familiar from the other recordings of "Sally Ann" that have been discussed, and seem to be widely associated with this tune. Verse 1 is also sung to old versions of "Sally Ann" from other parts of the country, and some even call the tune "Muskrat Sally Ann." Verses 2 and 4, however, are rarer, and may have been created, or at least set to this tune, in the Round Peak area.

THE "ROUND PEAK" SALLY ANN

The Round Peak area is located in Surry County, North Carolina, at the western edge of the Piedmont. Fisher's Peak to the west and Pilot Mountain to the east are more prominent and recognizable landmarks, but the smaller Round Peak, ten miles west of the town of Mount Airy, North Carolina, was the homeplace of a number of locally prominent musicians including Charlie Lowe (1878-1964, sometimes called "Short Charlie Lowe"), Eddie Lowe (1908-1995, nephew of Charlie), Tona Hawks (1883-1914, and known as "Tony Lowe"), Lee Dix ("Dick") Freeman (1908-1996), Kyle Creed (1912-1982), Fred Cockerham (1905-1980), Ben Jarrell (1880-1946), and—perhaps the most well-known—Thomas Jefferson Jarrell (1901-1985, son of Ben).

Tommy Jarrell's father was a shopkeeper and, like many in the area, sometimes made and sold moonshine whiskey. He was also a popular musician. In 1927, the elder Jarrell traveled to Richmond, Indiana to record for Gennett with Da Costa Woltz's Southern Broadcasters. In his youth, Tommy learned banjo from his father Ben's friend and musical partner Charlie Lowe. At 13, he started fiddling as well, learning mostly by watching his father "like a hawk" (Alden n.p.). During his youth, Tommy made a living primarily by moonshining, fiddling for dances and playing cards. One particularly rough night of drinking resulted in a violent altercation between Tommy and his uncle Charlie Jarrell in which the men nearly killed each other. Charlie had a warrant issued for Tommy's arrest, so the young Jarrell fled to Lambsburg, Virginia, just across the state line, but still in the Piedmont. There he worked for a family friend named Charlie Barnett Lowe (not the Charlie Lowe of Round Peak), and married the older man's daughter, Nina. During his stay in Lambsburg, Tommy often played music with Hiram Moody (1888-1966), about whom we'll hear more later. Some time after his marriage to Nina, Tommy returned to North Carolina, where he took a job with the North Carolina highway department. After his retirement in 1966, Tommy began fiddling more regularly and began to attract the attention of outsiders—Northerners and urban revivalists who started traveling to the local fiddlers' conventions to hear and learn first-hand from traditional southern musicians. Partly because of his powerfully driving fiddling, and partly because of his hospitality, Tommy was one of the most visited and emulated musicians of the string-band revival. The outline of his life given above and the stories about him have become part of the oral culture of old-time music.

Two other Round Peak musicians figure into the story at hand. Charlie Lowe (1878-1964) was a friend and musical companion of Ben Jarrell and the man who taught Tommy to play banjo. He was widely regarded as the best banjoist in the area, and won a blue ribbon at the 1949 Galax Old Fiddlers' Convention (Donleavy 30-31). Only a few home recordings exist of Charlie Lowe playing banjo with Tommy on fiddle and Ernest East on guitar. Lowe's playing is fast, precise and driving, almost entirely played on a single string at a time. Tona Hawks (1883-1914) was raised by his grandfather, Kenny Lowe and was thus known as Tony Lowe by almost everyone. Tony Lowe (as he'll be referred to below) lived "the next holler over" from the Jarrells and was a close friend and music partner of Ben Jarrell (Neithammer 26). Tommy said,

There's a lotta folks say he could outfiddle my daddy...Both he and daddy would play with Charlie Lowe or Joe Lowe or Clingman Lowe, all them Lowes' kinfolk, they were all old timey. They'd play old timey 'Sally Ann.' My daddy and Tony jazzed it up a little and made the 'Sally Ann' that I play. (Donleavy 2004:89)

During a visit in the early 1970s, Tommy Jarrell told the folklorist Blanton Owen that: "Daddy and Tony Lowe and Charlie [Lowe] made that tune 'Sally Ann'" (Unpublished field recording). Tommy's use of this word "made" is complex. On field recordings he uses it to refer to a variety of musical innovations. In the documentary film *Sprout Wings and Fly* he says he "made" a part of the fiddle song "Drunken Hiccups," meaning that he added a new verse to the lyrics (Blank). On the album "Sail Away Ladies" he says he "made" a part of "Soldier's Joy" meaning that he created an alternate, lower version of one of the tune's parts. Finally, he describes an incident in the 1940s:

Well I was a trying to learn "Paddy on the Turnpike," Rafe Brady came down here one time and I got him to play it twice for me. Well that was back yonder in the '40s when I wasn't doing no fiddling much, you know and I got to fooling with it—and about a year after that I come up with that tune that I play there and Rafe was down here again. I played it for him and he says "Tommy that ain't "Paddy on the Turnpike," that's "Old Buck".' "Well, if there's a tune named "Old Buck" I don't know nothing about it but that was all that was said, that's what I called it from then on, "Old Buck"—So I made a tune I reckon. (Seeger)

If there's a tune called "Old Buck," besides the one Tommy played, I don't know nothing about it either. Rafe Brady had a reputation as something of a prankster, so he may have been pulling Jarrell's leg.

A fourth way in which a musician could "make" a tune was by reimagining it, often in collaboration with other musicians. Tommy's fiddling father Ben Jarrell thus "made" some tunes in collaboration with the banjo players Charlie Lowe and Tony Lowe. Besides "Sally Ann," "John Brown's Dream" was made from "Pretty Little Girl" and "Backstep Cindy" was made from the tune "Holliding" (also known as "Old Time Backstep Cindy"). Since these tunes were made by fiddlers working with banjo players, it seems reasonable to state that part of this reimagining was based on a higher degree of interplay between banjo and fiddle parts. This will be explored more below.

BLACK INFLUENCE

The range of activities that fall under the rubric of "making" gives us some idea of the artistic ferment in the Round Peak area of North Carolina, a ferment that there is reason to believe was fueled in part by a degree of black-white interchange in the area. This interchange is well documented by Cecilia Conway's *African Banjo Echoes in Appalachia*. Corrina McKinney Bowden remembers a black band made up of fiddle, banjo, drum and piano regularly playing for white dances in Mount Airy during the 1920s. A black guitar player, Jim Rawley remembers several black banjo-picking friends. Tommy Jarrell remembers a black banjo player who would play for the family on visits to purchase whiskey from Ben Jarrell. Later in life, Tommy learned the song "Bo Weaval" from a "yellar gal" (light skinned black woman) at a tent show. Tommy also learned the song "Rylan Spencer" (sometimes called "Riley and Spencer") from the playing and singing of Jim Rawley (Conway 150-151).

Further evidence of a strong black musical tradition in Surry County comes from Artis "Shag" Stanley a sometime guitarist for Tommy Jarrell. Stanley told Kevin Donleavy the following about a 19th Century black fiddler:

Will Carr was the man who would have done all the fiddling for all the square dances and cornshuckings, and first one thing and then another like that. In fact, he fathered a child by Annie Bledsoe, my grandmother's aunt. But this child was cast out to the side and she never did understand. But her daddy had pity's sake on her and kept her going. He was a wealthy man at one time, and he was part Indian. Had six hundred acres of land, and he lost every foot of it. (Donleavy 76)

Carr lived and died sometime in the 1800s and was one of the earliest musicians Donleavy was able to trace in his study of Virginia and North Carolina music. This story shows that, although there were consequences for doing so, the black-white segregation could be and sometimes was transgressed and that blacks could be respected and prosperous. Carr was also known to have made music with Crawley Hamlin, a revered white fiddler from Elkin, NC, some distance south of Round Peak (*ibid*).

But how is the black influence made manifest in sound? And how is it a part of the making of the Round Peak "Sally Ann"?

BLACK NON-BLUES SECULAR MUSIC

Americans of African descent have been playing the dance music of the American south since colonial times. Eileen Southern reports that blacks were fiddling "Negro jigs" as music for the entertainment of white dancers as early as the 1760s (64-68). At about this same time an English traveler in Maryland wrote the earliest surviving description of a banjo on what would become United States soil: "the instrument (if it may be so called) is made of a Gourd, something in imitation of a Guitar" (Cresswell 66). Unfortunately, the black contribution to the string-band tradition has not been well documented on commercial or archival recordings (Otto and Burns, Carlin 31-32). Despite the shortage of commercial recordings, we have ample evidence of the influence of black musicians on their white contemporaries. Prominent white musicians including Maybelle Carter, Bill Monroe, Dock Boggs and Dock Roberts have credited blacks as either major influences or direct mentors and models.

To answer the questions of the previous section—how is black influence made manifest in sound and how is this influence evident in the making of the Round Peak "Sally Ann"—we need to ask: what does black string-band music sound like outside the context of the blues? It may be supposed from listening to Joe Thompson, Frank Patterson and John Lusk that black fiddlers were "rougher and more rhythmic" than their white counterparts who played the same repertoire. The banjoist and folklorist Bob Carlin almost makes this claim, but cautions that "all African American, like all Anglo-American, musicians do not sound the same" (32). The black fiddlers of south central Kentucky seem to be an important exception to the general trend of more rhythmic fiddling among African Americans. In fact a side-by-side comparison of the fiddling of the black Kentucky fiddler Cuje Bertram with that of his white fellow Kentuckians Leonard Ru-

therford and John Salyer shows Bertram to be the most intricate and notey (Titon 40-41). Dock Roberts, an influential Kentucky fiddler who recorded in the 1920s, learned his elegant and sophisticated long-bow style from Owen Walker, a black neighbor (Wolfe 69). All this is to emphasize ahead of time the fact that traditions are created and sustained by individuals and that they will vary widely and confound most attempts to generalize about them. I hope, therefore, that all that follows will be understood to be offered in a spirit of relativism and moderation admitting that there are exceptions to all statements about old-time fiddling.

TITON'S MELODY TYPES

Jeff Titon identifies a type of melody common in south-central Kentucky—a region with a high concentration of black residents—that is the result of “the ongoing black-white musical interchange that characterized vernacular music throughout the colonies and the Republic.” This melody type (Type Three in Titon’s scheme) is characterized by: 1) relatively short phrases; 2) major or pentatonic tonality; 3) offbeat accents and syncopation; and 4) limited melodic range in individual strains. Such tunes are particularly suited to being played as banjo-fiddle duets (Titon 20-21). Another type of melody (Type One) “descends from a class of British and Irish tunes.” The characteristics of these tunes are: 1) major or minor tonality; 2) melodic movement that tends to be stepwise along the scale or outlines a major chord; 3) relatively long phrases are comprised of a succession of eighth notes; 4) wide range; and 5) syncopation is rare and when present it tends to be across bar lines. The characteristic accompaniment to the fiddle for these melodies is chordal (19-20).

Titon’s lists of characteristics are intended to distinguish types of melody—in this case the African American derived melodies from those that originated in New England or among the Scots-Irish who settled eastern Kentucky. For my purposes, I propose that these traits may be useful in comparing different performances of the same melody. Rather than thinking of any of the Type Three elements as exclusively black, I tentatively call them *interracial tendencies*. These phenomena may be found more often and to a higher degree in the fiddling of black musicians and white players who lived in areas of higher interracial musical exchange. Performances of the same tune by fiddlers from areas with less black-white interchange will tend to render their tunes in a manner closer to that described by the Type One melody.

Compare, for example, the version of "Eighth of January" by the white musicians Charlie Higgins (fiddle), Wade Ward (banjo), and Dale Poe (guitar) (transcription 6), with that recorded by the black duo of Nathan Frazier (banjo and vocal) and Frank Patterson (fiddle) (transcription 7). Charlie Higgins (1878-1967) came from the older Galax tradition that included Emmett Lundy and Green Leonard. Remember that the areas "below the mountain" (like Round Peak) were the site of greater black-white interchange than those "up the mountain" (like Galax). Transcription six is based on a recording made by Peter Hoover in 1959. Not much is known about Frank Patterson, but he was born in Walter Hill Tennessee (30 miles east of Nashville) about 1880, making him a contemporary of Higgins. He learned most of his repertory from an older black fiddler sometime around 1900 (Wolfe n.p.). This recording is from a 1942 session organized by the folklorist John Work of Fisk University in Nashville. Patterson subtly varies the rhythm each time through.

Titon lists short phrases as the first quality of the black influenced melody type. If we compare the way these two fiddlers render the high strain, Higgins' melody is best heard as being constructed of two two-bar phrases, while Patterson plays four two-bar phrases. Patterson's version is based on a repeated two-bar motif, while Higgins' has a flowing, notey quality in which the second phrase flows almost seamlessly out of the first. While there is much melodic repetition in Patterson's rendition, Higgins' high part has no repeated melodic material.

The second quality Titon associates with black fiddling is major or pentatonic tonality. Both performances are in D major, but while Higgins plays G and C-sharp (the fourth and seventh scale degrees), Patterson's version is completely pentatonic. Notice also that Higgins' version implies the subdominant chord in the second measure of the high strain, while Patterson's high strain does not. The B parts are strikingly similar, but Patterson and Frazier add a second low part, C, that features a double stop of F-sharp and B, implying the relative minor chord, B minor. The last half of measure four of the Patterson's B part features an elision, whereby the last note of one phrase serves as the first note of the next (in this case D). By not lingering on the tonic note but launching into the next strain, this elision gives the transition from the B to C part an exciting melodic push.

The third quality Titon lists is the use of offbeat accents and syncopation. Higgins' version is fairly straight-forward in its rhythm,

consisting of quarter and eighth notes with a regular pulse. Patterson varies the rhythm considerably on successive time-throughs, mainly by shifting the accents and deploying different syncopations. In the time-through transcribed here, note the use of an anticipation between measures 2 and 3 and 4 and 5 of the A part. The long note held over the bar between measures 5 and 6 results in the accent being shifted from the first to the second beat of measure 6 (note the same technique in measures 7-8).

The limited melodic range that Titon associates with black and black-influenced fiddling is problematic for the use to which I am putting these categories. It also seems to be the quality to which there are the most available exceptions. It does, however, suit the present situation. While the A part of both settings encompasses an octave plus a perfect fifth, Higgins' B part encompasses an octave plus a half step, while Patterson's B and C parts are constrained to a major sixth.

The banjo accompaniment to these two settings further highlights their differences. Higgins' banjoist, Wade Ward, was an accomplished and prize-winning clawhammer banjo player, but he chose to accompany Higgins using a three-finger (thumb plus index and middle fingers) up-picking style that produces arpeggiated chords rather than a melodic line. By playing a solely pentatonic setting, Patterson creates a version that is more suited to the limitations of the five-string banjo. Nathan Frazier's clawhammer part closely follows the fiddle line, creating a performance that is more a duet than a melody with accompaniment.

All the foregoing points to the possibility of describing the Patterson and Frazier version as a Type Three black-influenced performance and the Higgins, Ward and Poe recording as a Type One British-derived performance.

COMPARISON OF ROUND PEAK AND OLD-TIME VERSIONS OF "SALLY ANN"

If we look at the new "Sally Ann" created by the Jarrells and Lowes (the "Round Peak 'Sally Ann'"), we will find that most of the tendencies Titon associated with black and black-influenced fiddling show up to a degree not found in the Old-Time "Sally Ann," suggesting that it is in part the result of interracial interchange in the Round Peak area (transcription 8).

To begin with, the phrases are indeed shorter in the newer version. The A part is based on a repeated motif only a single measure in duration. The B and C parts are half the length of the high part.

Both of these lower strains are constructed out of relatively short repeated melodic motifs as well. The older version does not rely on such repetitive motifs and the high part features no repeated melodic material at all.

Titon's second quality is major or pentatonic tonality. All versions of Sally Ann that I am aware of are in major keys. The Round Peak "Sally Ann," despite the use of the fourth and seventh scale degrees as passing tones, has a strongly pentatonic sound, though it is not as pentatonic as his "Old Time" version, or the earlier recordings by Blevins and the Hill Billies (if things can be said to be "relatively" pentatonic). Finally, just as Patterson's "Eighth of January" lacked the implication of a subdominant found in Higgins' version, the high part of the Round Peak "Sally Ann" stays within the area of the tonic chord until the cadential move in the second to last measure, while the "Old Time Sally Ann" features the typical "Sally Ann" chord progression with a subdominant harmony for measures 2-3.

The offbeat accents and syncopation, Titon's third quality, are characteristic of most of Jarrell's fiddling, and are provided by his vigorous "bow-rocking" style. This style is difficult to describe in words, but it involves accenting notes by both "bearing down"—or applying a little more pressure with the bow and simultaneously rotating the bow so as to catch and sound an adjacent string. Typical syncopation patterns are: 1) the dotted-quarter, followed by an eighth note or pair of sixteenths, followed by another quarter note pattern at the ends of strains and phrases; and 2) across-the-bar anticipations.

Titon's fourth quality is limited melodic range. If we count every note in the A part, the range is an octave plus one step from A⁵ to B⁶. The B section has a range of a major sixth from A⁵ to F^{#5}. However, the bulk of the melodic content of these two strains falls within a significantly smaller range. Looking at the tune as a whole, we note that the eighth note figure BABC[#] is common to the second half of the penultimate measure of each strain. In the A and B parts, this figure and this range of notes is only heard in this location (penultimate measure of the strain). If we discount this cadential flourish, the A part has a range of a major sixth from D⁵ to B⁶, and the B part has a range of a fifth between D⁵ and A⁵. If we discount the high A in the B part as not an essential part of the melody (some other local players omit it) the B part spans only a major third, D⁵ to F^{#5}.

The most noticeable change from the Old Time version is the de-emphasizing of the high B note in the A part. The actual range of

the melody in this strain is the same, but the range of the “important” notes, those that fall on the beat and define the melodic contour, is compressed by a whole step in the Round Peak version.

Comparing the lower strain in the Old Time and Round Peak tunes, note that D, the tonic note, is not arrived at until the third measure of the Round Peak version, thus creating a part that mostly alternates between only two notes, E and F sharp. Both of these melodic changes have implications for the banjo part.

THE BANJO

The banjo part on the Blevins recording is mainly rhythmic and chordal, with only a few gestures at the melody of the tune. John Rector, the banjoist on the Hill Billies recording, plays mostly chords, but takes one melodic chorus, the sound of which leads me to suspect that he may have been playing a tenor banjo or a five-string with a flat pick.² Fred Cockerham, accompanying Tommy Jarrell, plays a lot more of the melody, rarely striking more than one string at a time. This is characteristic of the Round Peak style of clawhammer banjo and also describes Nathan Frazier’s playing on “Eighth of January,” discussed above. There are some important distinctions between Frazier’s style and Cockerham’s, though. The earliest banjos were fretless, and in the Round Peak area, banjo players have preferred this setup into the present day. Musicians often removed the frets from store-bought banjos or covered them with a smooth piece of sheet-metal, copper, or Formica. This allows for glissandi and blue notes. It also contributes to the distinctive “plunky” timbre of Round Peak banjo playing and makes chording the instrument challenging. Banjo players like Fred Cockerham and Charlie Lowe developed a style that is more melodic, more based on single note licks than the style found in surrounding areas, where a more chordal clawhammer, based on brushing the picking finger across multiple strings, is common.

If the instrument is tuned aDADE, the customary tuning for playing in D major in this area, most of the key notes are available as open strings. Also, Because the high B is not played on the beat in the Round Peak “Sally Ann,” but only as a decoration, it can be omitted entirely by the banjo, and often is. When playing Sally Ann on banjo, Jarrell and Cockerham usually rendered the high part with a brush across the long strings followed by the striking of the short drone string on the beat (a move sometimes called the “Galax lick,” see transcription 9). Most of the lower strain can be played simply by hammering on and pulling off from the E string.

As has been seen, the syncopation, phrase structure, accompaniment, harmony, and range of the Round Peak "Sally Ann" make it in many ways a more "interracial" version than the "Old Time Sally Ann."

VARYING REPETITION

Another trait that I believe comes from the African-American string-band tradition is the extension of tunes by means of extra reiterations of the lower strains. The recordings of Nathan Frazier and Frank Patterson and the Gribble, Lusk and York band reveal a few things relevant to what I have been discussing so far. These two black string bands played in central Tennessee and were recorded in the 1940s by researchers from the Library of Congress and Fisk University. The characteristics enumerated by Jeff Titon are all present (as illustrated by the discussion of Frazier and Patterson's "Eighth of January," above). So is a seemingly casual approach to the "arrangement" of the tune. Often, the higher strain of a two-part piece will be played twice, followed by a higher number of repetitions of the lower strain. The part order of Frazier and Patterson's "Eighth of January" is illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Structure of "Eighth of January"
as played by Frazier and Patterson.

A	A	B	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	B		
A	A	B	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	
A	A	B	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	

In contrast, the Charlie Higgins version is AABB throughout. This structural freedom can also be heard in performances by Joe Thompson of Mebane, North Carolina, perhaps the last living traditional black fiddler. Joe calls the low strain of a tune "'the resting part' and [says] that, during long dances, it was customary to 'hang out down there' and 'coast'" (Wooley 111). Thompson lived and played in the Piedmont, hundreds of miles from the Frazier/Patterson and Gribble/Lusk/York bands in central Tennessee, yet he shared this "hanging out" approach. This suggests that this was a widespread African American practice in the Upper South. Round Peak lies in between these two areas, so any white musicians in that locale might have been within earshot of this practice.

We have seen that the Blevins band would vary their performance, but never to the degree to which the black string bands did. The extravagantly flexible way in which the Round Peak players felt at

liberty to vary the structure at will is, I believe, a key innovation of the Round Peak style and a product of black influence.

The Round Peak “Sally Ann” is a three part tune, and, as played by Tommy Jarrell on four separate recordings, highly variable in the way these parts are repeated each time through the tune, as illustrated in Figure 5, which is based on the rendition on *Tommy & Fred* (County CD-2702).

Figure 5. Structure of Tommy Jarrell and Fred Cockerham’s “Sally Ann” from “Tommy and Fred,” County CD 2702.

A	A	B	B	B	C	C	C				
A	A	B	B	B	C	C					
A	A	B	B	B	B	C	C	C	C		
A	A	B	B	B	C	C	C	C	C	C	
A ^(low)	A ^(low)	B	B	B	B						
A	A	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B		
A	A	B	B	B							

The A part is always played twice, but the B part is played at least three times and as many as *eight* times on one time-through. Tommy played the C part from two to six times and sometimes omitted it completely.

To put this performance in the context of the rest of Tommy Jarrell’s repertoire, I would like to compare it to the other tracks on the *Tommy & Fred* album, taking this as a reasonably representative selection of his repertoire. Of the album’s twenty-one tracks, seven are primarily what would be called “songs”—tunes with a single strain repeated over and over. The remaining fourteen tracks are fiddle tunes with two or more strains, most with some singing. Only two of these tunes, the instrumental “Soldier’s Joy” and the two-strain song “The Yellow Rose of Texas,” are played in the supposedly standard AABB format throughout. In all cases the highest strain is played exactly twice, no matter its length (4, 8 or 10 measures), and lower strains are played between two and eight times. The number of repetitions of lower strains is almost always within the range of two or three repetitions. For example, on “Old Bunch of Keys” the low part is played between four and six times on each time-through, on “June Apple” it is between two and four and on “Cluck Old Hen,” it is between three and five. The widest variance is on “Cumberland Gap,” on which the low strain is played three times the first time through and eight times on the fourth.

Blanton Owen asked Jarrell about this practice during one visit:

Blanton Owen: Sometimes...when you're playing the low part it just doesn't feel right to change there. Most everybody plays it two times through and then two times the other part through.

Tommy Jarrell: Yeah, I know they do, well I, we used to play for two or three minutes on the low part then go on to the high part. We played more on the low than we did the high.

BO: Things like that "Step Back."

TJ: Yeah.

BO: ...and all those things like that, they just sound good sometimes with all those basses going on and on and on.... Bottom part of "Sally Ann."

TJ: [fiddling a bit] Let's get a drink then we'll play some more.
(Unpublished field recording, 1/2/1974)

Though Jarrell doesn't have much to say on the topic, he clearly knew what he was doing and was aware that it was not the typical way of playing a tune. Ray Alden, who recorded Tommy Jarrell on many occasions and produced *Tommy and Fred: Best Fiddle-Banjo Duets*, says that this practice may have grown out of Jarrell's work as a square dance fiddler:

The low part, obviously, is easier to play, it's easier on your hands and everything than the high part. The high part's got bigger finger stretches and maybe it's a little bit hard to get really good intonation. So if you had to play a long square dance, it made a lot of sense to play the low part [longer] and it would just be easier on your hands. Because these dances, I think Tommy said they lasted sometimes 40 minutes.

So then the problem became, if you're playing with a banjo player, how do you know when to change. The fiddler is determining everything, he's playing, he says: okay, I'm rested, I'll go up to the high part. What they would do often, they would sit, Tommy told me, they would sit, sometimes in a door between two rooms and they would interlock their knees, so all Tommy had to do was just nudge Fred or Charlie Lowe's knee and that was immediately a sign I'm going up to the high part now. And the other thing Tommy would do was he'd raise his fiddle a little bit. When we played with him he would almost always raise his fiddle to let us know, even if he was doing AABB, cause it was so ingrained in him to give that communication. (Alden)

Before World War II, most dances in the Piedmont, as elsewhere in rural America, were held in private homes with small rooms, so musicians would sit in doorways and play so that people could dance in

two rooms on either side (Carlin 76). Forty minutes seems like a very long time for a single dance, but not outside the realm of possibility. Carlin notes that a single dance usually lasted between fifteen and thirty minutes, requiring great stamina indeed.

THE THIRD PART

The appending of a low third part to a tune is another Round Peak hallmark. Ray Alden speculated that the appeal of the low part also comes from playing for long square dances. The B and C parts of the Round Peak "Sally Ann" are technically easier to fiddle than the A part so playing these parts long gave the musicians a chance to rest a bit and simultaneously keep the music interesting. The return to the high part after the long coast in the C part would create a little musical lift—a feeling of ebb and flow, perhaps.

This third part is sometimes thought of as an alternate version of the second part, and its melody is quite similar. Fiddling a normally high strain in a lower octave is a practice characteristic of (though not unique to) the Surry County area. Clell Caudill, a musician from Ennice, North Carolina, up in the Blue Ridge, spent some time playing with Charlie Jarrell (Tommy's uncle), when Charlie lived "up the mountain." Clell learned some tunes from Charlie Jarrell and came to think of tunes in which parts could be played in different octaves as "below the mountain tunes" (Carter 1978). Older "up the mountain" fiddlers like Emmett Lundy and Charlie Higgins, on the other hand, did not recast strains in the lower octave.³

Although I noted above that the addition of extra parts was characteristic of the Round Peak way of "making" a tune, the third part of the Round Peak "Sally Ann" may be an exception. Tommy tells the following story about the low strain:

I learned that from Hiram Moody in Lambsburg, and I brought it down to North Carolina and showed everybody else how to play that part on the basses. I don't know where Hiram learned it, unless he just made it up. (Donleavy 32)

Unfortunately, Hiram Moody was never recorded. John Rector (not the John Rector who played banjo on the Hill Billies recording), a fine fiddler in his own right, was interviewed at the age of 90 by Kevin Donleavy, to whom he described a meeting with Moody:

"There was a fellah named Hiram Moody lived in Lambsburg. He got hold of my fiddle one time, and I thought he was going to TEAR IT UP! Playing for a dance at the top of the mountain. He was a GOOD

FIDDLER!" Then John plays a wild "Sally Ann," saying afterwards that's how Moody played it. (Donleavy 293)

As played on Donleavy's unpublished field recordings, Rector's rendition of Moody's version does not have the low third part that Tommy attributed to him, but is strikingly similar to Tommy's "Old Time Sally Ann," particularly in the high part.

Donleavy's book offers another anecdote to further complicate tracing the third part. Aldon Harris (b. 1918), the son of Hiram Moody, said:

"Here's the way Tony Lowe used to play 'Sally Ann' and they used to tune their violins with that high bass. Tony Lowe was the man to play it that way. He's the one who changed it like that. They used to play it the old way." Aldon mentions that dad Hiram learned to play it Tony's way. (244)

After this, again based on Donleavy's unpublished field recordings, Harris plays a "Sally Ann" in three parts, strikingly similar to Tommy Jarrell's Round Peak version. Harris also said that Hiram Moody often played music with Ben Jarrell.

So who taught whom? The chronology is impossible to discern based on these interviews. The age of the fiddlers is also a factor. Harris was 70 when Donleavy interviewed him. Rector was 90. It is possible to speculate that Tony Lowe taught Hiram, who taught Tommy. The fact that Aldon Harris specifically mentions the "high bass" tuning (meaning the fiddle is tuned ADAE from low to high) as a feature of Tony Lowe's version strongly suggests that this may be the case as the third part would be difficult to play in standard tuning, while the other two parts do not utilize the lowest string at all. Further evidence for this theory is the fact that Tony Lowe died in 1914 and Tommy's escape to Lambsburg did not occur until 1921. On the other hand, Aldon was not born until 1918, and thus would never have known Tony Lowe personally, though clearly his father held Lowe in high regard. As we have seen in Tommy's attribution of the low part to Moody, it is not uncommon for fiddlers to show their respect to those they learn from by announcing the provenance of particular tunes, parts, or variations. Moody very likely would have told his son about the man who taught him the low part.

SINGING

Another aspect of black music-making that influenced whites was singing. Old-time musicians and bands often divide their repertoires

into two broad categories: the “songs” and the “tunes.” In the old-time community a “tune” is a piece of music that is instrumental or primarily instrumental, though one may sing when performing it. A “song” is a piece of music that is primarily vocal and cannot be performed without singing the lyrics, though some songs have been transformed into fiddle tunes. The songs may be derived from old British ballads, folktales, or myths. “Sally Ann” is associated with lyrics almost everywhere it is played. We can therefore classify it in a third category, the “instrumental song.” As described by Alan Jabbour, this is a “class of lyric folksongs that are sprightly, playful, allusive and occasionally obscene,” and often associated with fiddling in the South (254). As has been shown, the Round Peak area of North Carolina was a place of especially high black-white musical exchange, and consequently, a higher incidence of singing to fiddle music. Comparison with musicians from the Galax area across the state line in Virginia (and “up the mountain”) is instructive. Roscoe Parrish and Luther Davis, fiddlers from this area, did not sing along to their fiddling, and report that such singing was uncommon in their area, though they knew that this was the practice in North Carolina (Conway 151).

Thomas Talley’s 1922 collection *Negro Folk Rhymes* includes many rhymes similar in character to the verses that make up “Sally Ann.” Many of them also resembled “Sally Ann” in that they were made up of disconnected “floating” stanzas that could appear in flexible combination with any other stanzas (Wolfe xxvi). The rhymes collected by Talley were “used as banjo and fiddle (violin) songs. It ought to be borne in mind, however, that even these were quite often repeated without singing or playing” (Talley 236). The words and the music, then, have independent lives and can be put together in a modular fashion by the performer. The performance is described thus:

The compositions were comparatively long. From one to four lines of a Negro Folk Rhyme were sung to the opening measures of the instrumental composition; then followed the larger and remaining part of the composition, instruments alone. In the rhyme “Devilish Pigs” four lines were used at a time. (237)

Talley compares the evolving structure of the music as various verses are sung to a theme-and-variations movement in a Western classical piece. On the effect of the words on the musical performance, Talley writes:

The Negro Folk Rhyme, then, furnished the ideas about which the "old time" Negro banjo picker and fiddler clustered his best instrumental music thoughts...Perhaps a new school of orchestral music might be built on the Negro idea that some of the performers sing a sentence or so here and there, both to assist the hearers to a clearer musical understanding and to heighten the general artistic finish. (238)

There are several clear parallels to the banjo-and-fiddle based old-time music being studied here. Most scholars now think that the music played by Southern blacks and whites in the 19th and early 20th centuries was much closer to each other than commercial recordings would lead us to believe (Wolfe xxv-xxvi). The long compositions and occasional singing that Talley describes also describe Tommy Jarrell's performances of "Sally Ann." I cannot speculate here on whether Tommy's singing helps his audience understand the music better, as Talley suggests, but it certainly does "heighten the general artistic finish" of the performance, if only by introducing variety into the repeated strains which would be played many more than five or six times in the context of a dance.

Jarrell commercially recorded "Sally Ann" at least three times. Singing is only done to accompany the second and third parts, which are shorter, less melodically active and in a lower part of the fiddle's range. As has been shown, Tommy Jarrell's "Sally Ann" has a loose structure, with the high strain (or "A part") played twice each time through, and the following strains (the "B part" and "C part") played variable numbers of times, with the C part sometimes omitted altogether. Verses sung to the B part are never sung to the C part, nor are C part verses sung to the B part.

The B part verses are:

B1. Ride the buggy, yes I am
Ride the buggy Sally Ann
Sally Ann
Sally Ann

B2. Sift your meal and save the bran.
The old cow needs it, Sally Ann.
Sally Ann.
Sally Ann.

B3. Sally in the garden sifting sand
Susan in the bed with the hogeyed man
I'm going home with Sally Ann,
I'm going home with Sally Ann.

B4. Greenback dollar!
Greenback dollar, good as gold.

With the exception of B4, the B part verses are sung over the duration of two iterations of the B part.

The C part verses are also usually sung over the duration of two iterations of the part. The C part verses are:

C1. Who in the world in the doggone nation's
Throwing them rocks at me?
All them rocks, all them rocks
All them rocks at me?

C2. How in the world can I swing Sue?
Susan's gone away.
She's gone away
Susan's done and gone.

The following tables illustrate the structure of the tune as it is realized on three recordings. Each table row represents a complete time-through of the tune. A letter alone indicates an instrumental performance of the relevant strain. A letter with an apostrophe (A') represents the strain played in a lower octave on the fiddle. A letter with a number indicates that the verse from the above list is sung. As most of the verses take two iterations of a part to sing, the letter and number will appear twice. The first is a performance of Tommy fiddling and singing, accompanied by Fred Cockerham on fretless banjo.

Figure 5. Structure and verses of "Sally Ann" from County CD 2702.

A	A	B	B	B	C	C	C	
A	A	B	B	B	C	C		
A	A	B1	B1	B	B	C	C1	C1 C
A	A	B	B	B	C	C	C	C2 C2 C
A'	A'	B'	B'	B'	B'			
A	A	B2	B2	B	B	B	B3	B3 B
A	A	B	B	B				

The next table represents Tommy singing and playing in a band context, with banjo, guitar and string bass accompaniment on Heritage 038.

Figure 6. Structure and verses of "Sally Ann" from Heritage 038.

A	A	B	B	C	C	
A	A	B	B4	B	B1	B1 B
A	A	B	B	C	C2	C2 C C
A'	A'	B'	B'	B'	B'	
A	A	B	B3	B3	B	B C C1 C1 C C

This last table represents a performance of Tommy playing solo banjo and singing on County CD 2726.

Figure 7. Structure and verses of "Sally Ann" from County CD 2726.

A	A	B	B1	B1	B	
A	A	B	B4	B	B	C C2 C2 C
A	A	B	B3	B3	B	C C1 C1 C
A	A	B				

Although this is a limited sample of the sum total of times Tommy Jarrell performed "Sally Ann" we might speculate on what this can tell us about his approach to singing verses in the context of a loosely structured tune. The verses may be sung in any order, and Tommy varies this freely, although he seems to prefer to sing "Ride the buggy..." early in a performance rather than later. From this limited sample we can see that he begins singing B verses on either the first or second iteration, and that in a given performance he will either always start singing on the first B or always on the second B. Furthermore, he will always play a strain through at least once more after finishing a verse before moving on to the next strain. Finally, if a verse is sung, the strain is always repeated more times than if it is played without singing. Strains are always played at least twice through (the solitary B at the end of the solo banjo performance is basically a tag), but when a verse is sung during a strain, it is played at least four times through. The structure of the music expands to accommodate the singing.

Tommy attributed the C part verses, like the melody, to Hiram Moody (Donleavy 32). Though he says that both verses were ones

Moody would sing, C1 (“Who in the world, in the doggone nation’s throwin’ them rocks at me?”) seems unlikely to have been composed by Moody. The verse is a reference to one of the great legends of the Round Peak area, the “rocking.”

A man could have rocks thrown at him by gangs of young men waiting for him as he passed by. They might have been waiting for him because he was courting a woman from their community, since anyone from even a few miles away was considered an outsider. (Alden)

Tommy elaborates a bit:

They used to rock you when you went to Lambsburg, and you had to run, by God, if you didn’t have a pistol to shoot back at ‘em! When my granddaddy moved up there, it was called Rockburg—wasn’t any post office then. Those old flat river rocks, you know. Godamighty, they were lying everywhere. (Donleavy 32)

John Rector also remembers Lambsburg as a rough community, and says it was nicknamed “Guzzleburg,” presumably for the amount of drinking that took place there (293). Given this information it seems unlikely that the “rocking” verse was made by a Lambsburg musician. Ray Alden says “It would really be a Round Peak guy who would be singing about getting rocked, not a Lambsburg person. So it doesn’t make complete sense. ‘Swinging Susan’ I could see having learned from someone in Lambsburg.” My personal theory, for which I have no supporting evidence, is as follows: “How in the world can I swing Sue?...” was a Lambsburg verse, and a clever Round Peak musician (possibly Fred Cockerham, who was often a target of rockings) created the “rocking” verse. The grammatical parallel of “Who in the world...” with “How in the world...” suggests to me that this is a reference to and parody of the “swing Sue” verse.

“JOHN BROWN’S DREAM”: THE ROUND PEAK AESTHETIC

Just as the Round Peak “Sally Ann” was created from an older tune, Tommy Jarrell claimed that “John Brown’s Dream” was a tune his father and the Lowes made from “Pretty Little Girl.” By examining the common strategies in these two remakings we can get some idea of the aesthetic values of the Jarrell-Lowe circle of musicians.

“Pretty Little Girl,” as played by Tommy on an unpublished field recording made by Blanton Owen in 1974, is a fairly simple two part tune (transcription 10).⁴ Like “Sally Ann,” the Round Peak players updated it by adding parts. The two lower parts in “John Brown’s

Dream" might be thought of as the same part played in different octaves. My reason for calling them two different parts is that they are both played in each time-through, while a low A part is played on its own as the A part. The lowest strains of the new tunes have a similar construction, starting with two quarter-notes worth of the tonic note followed by what Amy Wooley calls a "circular motif" which "wind[s] around in a feeling of pent-up dormancy, building up energy for the euphoric return to the A" (318-321). The new strains would have a similar effect on the performance of "John Brown's Dream" to that noted for the Round Peak "Sally Ann." These parts are comparatively easier to play than the high part, easier on the hands and not demanding such careful intonation. "John Brown's Dream" would be well suited for playing a long dance of the sort described by Ray Alden above.

As with "Sally Ann," the newer tune here has a wider range, encompassing the entire cross-tuned fiddle from a low A to a high B, but the range in individual strains, particularly the added strains, is relatively small. Both these "new" tunes take a cascading trip down from the top of the fiddler's range to the bottom. The return to the high part after a long "coast" in the low range of the fiddle creates an exciting effect like being awakened from a dream. This effect is heightened by the way in which the beginnings of these tunes are reshaped. Looking at the first measures of each of these four tunes, notice that the older versions proceed up to the high A note gradually, arriving at this climax on the third beat. The newer tunes shift this high note forward to the first beat, often anticipated over the bar in performance. This gives the newer tunes more of a forward push. The second strains of the newer tunes show a melodic simplification and a rhythmic complexity in comparison to their predecessors. As the central range of the B part of "Sally Ann" was reduced from a major third (between D and F-sharp) to a major second (between E and F-sharp), the central range of the B part of "John Brown's Dream" is a whole step smaller than that of "Pretty Little Girl." The main activity of the B part of "John Brown's Dream" is sliding into a unison E.

The foregoing suggests certain things about the values of the Round Peak aesthetic. To put it in the terms of Titon's melody types, Round Peak melodies have: 1) short phrases, constructed out of repeated motifs; 2) major or pentatonic tonality, with a preference for melodies that do not imply subdominant harmony; 3) strong accents on downbeats, frequent across-the-bar anticipations and off-beat accents; 4) a wide melodic range over all, but relatively small ranges in

individual parts; and 5) are suited to single-note clawhammer banjo accompaniment. To this I would add the structural flexibility in relation to part-order as discussed above.

REVIVAL "SALLY ANN"

THE FUZZY MOUNTAIN STRING BAND

"Sally Ann" has been subjected to certain subtle yet telling changes in the hands of various revival musicians. The Fuzzy Mountain String Band, a group of young revivalists, several of whom were graduate students, was among the earliest string band revival groups. They came together in the area around Durham and Chapel Hill, North Carolina around 1970 and in their approach to learning and performing, they followed a model established by an earlier band from the area, the Hollow Rock String Band. The Hollow Rock band, consisting of Alan Jabbour, Tommy Thompson, Bobbie Thompson, and Bertram Levy, played fiddle tunes mostly from the repertoire of Henry Reed, a fiddler from Glen Lyn, Virginia. Jabbour, the Hollow Rock fiddler, began visiting Reed in 1965 and recorded hundreds of obscure tunes from the older man before Reed's death in 1967. Jabbour carefully studied the tapes and taught the repertoire to his bandmates. This approach proved inspirational to other young string band musicians who started traveling into the country in search of "source" musicians with interesting repertoires (Carter 79).

Several of these young fieldworker/musicians were in the Fuzzy Mountain String Band, as was Bobbie Thompson, who joined after the Hollow Rock group disbanded. Like Alan Jabbour, they placed a premium on learning their repertoire correctly, and from authentic sources:

From the beginning, members of the FMSB ventured forth to visit and record old-time fiddlers and banjoists throughout the upland South. And learning their tunes "right" was important. We took great pride in the fact that virtually all of our repertoire was learned first-hand, most from traditional musicians we visited, recorded, and got to know. Bobbie was especially critical: she was the one willing to tell any of us that we didn't have a phrase quite right. (Hicks, Owen and Sandomirsky)

Bill Hicks, one of the Fuzzy Mountain String Band's fiddler's expanded on this method, and specifically cites Alan Jabbour's work as a model:

We were very influenced by Alan Jabbour's views about what collecting was about. Which were, if I understand them, that you find a par-

ticular fiddler who plays a source, who *is* a source, for a tune. In fact the tunes were sort of like these titles that go back to individuals and most of the individual players play the tune a little differently. But you pick one or, if you’re going to play two versions of a tune you say this one is from so-and-so in what county, Virginia and this one’s from down in Georgia. And then you learn those tunes as carefully as you can and I think we followed that sort of system or rule. (Hicks)

The source given for the Fuzzy Mountain String Band’s version of “Sally Ann” on Rounder 11571 is Tommy Jarrell. They sing the verses Tommy sang (with the exception of “Sift your meal...”) and they sing them to the same parts he sang them. Interestingly, though, they do not vary the structure as Tommy did. The Fuzzy Mountain String Band establishes a pattern, and maintains it for a full six times through (see figure 9). In this they are like most current revival string bands.

Figure 8. Structure of the Fuzzy Mountain String Band’s “Sally Ann,” recorded in 1971, Rounder 11571.

A	A	B	B	C	C	C	C	
A	A	B	B	C	C	C	C	
A	A	B	B	C	C	C	C	
A	A	B	B	C	C	C	C	
A	A	B	B	C	C	C	C	
A	A	B	B	C	C	C	C	

The question may be asked: why, if the Fuzzy Mountain String Band was assiduous enough to painstakingly learn the tunes “correctly” and to sing the very same verses as Tommy Jarrell, did they eschew the structural looseness of the original musician? Bill Hicks, one of the two fiddlers on this recording, told me that the decision to regularize the structure of “Sally Ann” was probably based on the size of the ensemble. The FMSB had two fiddles, two banjos, a guitar and a dulcimer. Coordinating a freer structure between so many instruments would be tricky, to say the least. In recent years, Hicks has been performing as a duo with his wife, Libby, on guitar, and he tells me that he now plays the tune with a freer structure, more like Tommy Jarrell.

THE PILOT MOUNTAIN BOBCATS

In the years since the Fuzzy Mountain String Band recorded, the structure they used has become a generally accepted standard for

playing the Round Peak “Sally Ann” and other three-part versions. The Pilot Mountain Bobcats are a group of accomplished old-time revivalists all of whom moved to the Surry County area from other parts of the country. Like many who moved to the upland South to be closer to the source of old-time music, they attempt to strike a balance between counterculture and rural aesthetics. This desire for balance is, in my mind, typified by what Tina Liza Jones calls the “Virginia vegetarian,” who cooks his tofu in bacon grease. The Pilot Mountain Bobcats opt for a hippie aesthetic when it comes to album packaging and personal appearance. The members have a fondness for tie-dyed and batiked clothing. The cover of their album, *Dance by the Light of the Moon*, is a brightly colored painting by Tori Casey depicting the band as anthropomorphic felines playing next to a campfire, with woodland creatures dancing around. Musically, however, they remain close to the rural ideal. Like the Fuzzies, they give the provenance of the tunes they play in the liner notes. Whether or not they are revivalists may be questioned, though. When asked about her early experiences with old-time music in the 1970s, Nancy Sluys, the Bobcats’ fiddler, drew a distinction between her approach and the scholarly one taken by the Fuzzy Mountain String Band:

I never thought of myself as a revivalist, partly because I never studied the music. I just play it, you know ... I haven’t really studied it so to speak, I just kind of live it, you know. I can’t really explain it, it just happens. For instance, the old people I played with are just people I just bumped into somewhere at a fiddlers’ convention or something like that. In my younger days I was a little shy and I didn’t feel like I could intrude on people’s lives, so I never really did visit Tommy Jarrell, even though tons of people did. Kyle Creed I played with a bunch in the 70s, and I got to hang around and absorb stuff here and there ... Back in the early 70s there was definitely lots of revivalism going on and people were trying to sound old and trying to research this and study this and it’s just not how I ever went about it. I was just footloose and fancy free and having a good time and playing music. (Sluys)

Their performance of “Sally Ann” (the “Surry County national anthem” say the notes) renders it as a song, with banjoist Jacki Spector singing on almost every time-through (transcription 12). Spector’s lyrics are somewhat different from Tommy’s and transcribed below figure 9.

Figure 9. Structure of the Pilot Mountain Bobcats' "Sally Ann."

A	A	B1 B1 C C C C
A'	A'	B'2 B'2 C C C C
A	A	B3 B3 C C C C
A	A	B B C1 C1 C C
A'	A'	B'4 B'4 C C C C
A	A	B1 B1 C C C C

B1. Sift your meal and save the bran
 I'm going home with Sally Ann
 Sally Ann
 All night long with Sally Ann

B2. You go home with who you can.
 I'm going home with Sally Ann
 Sally Ann
 All night long with Sally Ann

B3. Sal's in the garden sifting sand
 Susan's in the bed with the hogeyed man
 I'm going home with Sally Ann
 I'm going home with Sally Ann

B4. Going to the wedding with Sal, Sal
 Going to the wedding with Sally Ann.
 All night long with Sal, Sal
 All night long with Sally Ann.

C1. Who in the world, in the doggone nation's
 throwing them rocks at me?
 All them rocks
 All them rocks at me?

Nancy Sluys, the Bobcats' fiddler, cannot cite any single source for her version of "Sally Ann":

I can't really say I learned it from any one person. It sort of melded into that "Sally Ann." It's pretty heavy on the Galax, with a little bit of Mount Airy thrown in. It's just, I don't know, it's about the power of its own. It's a very common tune around here. The "Surry County National Anthem" they call it. But there are several different versions.

Some people play it without the low part, a few play it just doing it one time through. I don't know, mine is probably more from Galax area fiddlers. It's a fiddlers' convention version. (Sluys)

By this Sluys seems to mean that her setting of "Sally Ann," rather than being learned from a single "source" in the manner of the Fuzzy Mountain String Band, evolved over years spent playing the tune with other local musicians. Sluys' "fiddler's convention version" uses A and B parts reminiscent of various old-time versions of "Sally Ann," with a low third part very similar to the Round Peak third part, creating a hybrid version, a not uncommon practice in the Blue Ridge. Leftwich notes of "Old Time Sally Ann" that "many musicians retrofitted it with a low third part in deference to the popularity of the Jarrell-Lowe version at area fiddlers conventions" (84).

The lyrics are hybrid as well. Jacki Spector's story of how she came to sing these verses is similar to Sluys' explanation of her fiddle setting:

My lyrics are a composite of varying versions of the song heard over the years. The "all night long with Sally Ann" came from Doris Kimble. I met him around 1990 when Ray Alden came down and recorded some Kimble Family tunes with him and Ivery (and Dave Spilkia). They put out 2 cassettes at that time; a reissue of the Kimbles and the one they did as the "Pine Knot Rowdies." I assisted with the recording. Anyway, Doris was a quiet little man who played the autoharp and sang. I'm pretty sure that I heard him sing that refrain and added it to verses I picked up here and there. He also sang the "ever see a muskrat Sally Ann? dragging his long tail through the sand" verse. I think he called it "Muskrat Sally Ann." (Spector)

The composite approach that Sluys used for her fiddling and Spector for her lyrics is not unlike that described by Tommy Jarrell as "making." Jarrell learned some verses from his family and some from people in another community. Add another part that you learned from someone in Lambsburg, and you've got yourself a new tune.

In this respect the Bobcats represent a return to the older way of learning and making tunes, a post-revival band, if you will. While many members of the Hollow Rock and Fuzzy Mountain bands left North Carolina in the mid-1970s to pursue professional careers, the Pilot Mountain Bobcats have been living and playing music in Surry County for 20 years.

A lot of the old timers are gone now. But we have been here for so long that there's not really anybody that doesn't consider us just as a

local band. We're not like the hippies or the newcomers or anything like that. [JR: Took a while, but...] It did. But it wasn't like we even tried. We just played and just had fun and just kept doing it and doing it and kept playing dances and trying to make them dancers dance and then they did and we realized we had the beat right. Those local dancers can be hard on you. (Sluys)

DANCING

Like the Fuzzy Mountain String Band, the Bobcats play the same structure throughout their version of "Sally Ann." By way of explanation, Nancy Sluys told me "We kind of end up doing more structure, because we play a lot for dances. And I think for contra dances and dances that require particular numbers of beats." Contra dances were unknown in Round Peak before the 1980s, and the primary dances in Surry County today remain square dance and flat-foot (Alden; Sypher; Spector; Jamison). So what happened?

Most forms of American vernacular country dance—that is, dance where two or more couples dance coordinated figures—have their origin in English country dance. This type of dance became popular during Oliver Cromwell's reign and was further popularized by Playford's *The English Dancing Master*, originally published in 1651 (Blaustein 193). These "longways" dances spread to the continent, where they were taken up in France, Spain, Germany and elsewhere. "Country dance" became "contredanse" in France, and under that name it seems to have reentered currency in England again, now called "contra dance." Another important French innovation was the evolution of the cotillion, a variation on contra dance done in square formation (Blaustein 195).

In the United States, all kinds of country dancing, contra and square included, were popular until well into the 19th Century. Square dancing was still done by members of polite society into the 1860s, but by the 1890s, it had all but disappeared, except in the countryside. Longways, or contra, dances declined in popularity even in most rural areas, save for New England, where they have persisted into the present day (Blaustein 196-198).

As noted above, contra dances were unknown in Round Peak before the 1980s. Round Peak is square dance country. Ray Alden says "I never heard of contra dances nor heard any musician mention that term." The difference between the traditions as it concerns musicians is summed up by dance-caller Phil Jamison:

When I call squares, I usually call to the beat, rather than the phrase of the music, which enables me to call to tunes with extra beats or extra parts. Calling dances to these "crooked" tunes lets the band cut loose on some of their favorites, and mine too. But bands, beware that most callers will not want to call to crooked tunes...Most callers will want a "square, or thirty two bar AABB" tune, i.e. one with two sixteen beat parts, each repeated. When playing for a contra dance a square AABB tune is absolutely necessary. (1991:10-11)

In other words, a contra dance requires a "square" tune, while a square dance does not. The terms used to describe various kinds of non-contra country dances done in Appalachia vary widely, even in a small region (Spalding), as do the specific details of form and structure (Dalsemer), but the inherent tolerance for crookedness is held in common among all styles of southern country dance, as well as the various forms of solo dance variously called flatfooting, clogging or buckdancing.

Conscious attempts to revitalize contra dancing began around the turn of the last century, when May Gadd formed the still-active Country Dance and Song Society (CDSS) in 1900. Another wave of revival started in New England in the 1960s, presumably as part of the widespread interest in folk music and dance in America. Two callers, Dudley Laufman and Bob McQuillen, began traveling around New England in a bread van, teaching contra dance in college towns. From this base, the form spread down the east coast (R. Carlin 222-224).

Back-to-the-landers, Northerners and academics in the Research Triangle area of the North Carolina Piedmont would have been among those taking up the trend originally propagated by Laufman and McQuillen. Many of these people had experience with contra dancing in other areas of the country and started contra dances in North Carolina. As southern style old-time musicians were hired to play these dances, they had to adjust their playing to fit the demands of the contra dance form. Although squares—usually "big-circle" squares—are still the rule at small dances in North Carolina's rural communities, contras are held all across the state. The CDSS web site lists thirteen regular dances, not only in the cities and research centers of the Piedmont, but in the Appalachian towns of Asheville and Boone as well. The bands listed for these events are not Northern-style ensembles. They include The Pilot Mountain Bobcats and the Slate Mountain Ramblers, two solid and respected traditional groups that have each placed high in the rankings at the conservative local

fiddlers' conventions. Some more conservative groups have found it not worth their while to adjust to the demands of the contra form. Nancy Mamlin, a caller from Boone, North Carolina, relates the following exchange with Bill and Janice Birchfield of the Roan Mountain Hilltoppers:

Me: Hey, I'm your caller for tonight.

Bill/Janice: Good. We're looking forward to it.

Bill: You won't be calling any of those "contra" dances tonight, will you?

Me: I certainly don't need to do any. I hadn't really planned on it.

Janice: We don't like playing for them.

Bill: It's hard for me. I never know when I might slip in an extra beat or something when I'm playing a tune.

Me: That's fine! We'll stick with squares.

(Mamlin)

While Jamison's quote above acknowledges that it is possible to do a square dance to a crooked tune, the knowledge that many callers who are used to calling contras will expect, and possibly demand, square tunes seems to have led many to draw a bright line through their repertoire between danceable square tunes and undanceable crooked tunes.

When the modes of dance change the fundamental laws of music change with them. Ray Alden attributed the long low parts to the demands of the square dance, and it seems that the increasing popularity of the contra dance is partially responsible for the decline of that practice.

CONCLUSION

Alan Jabbour sometimes says that in studying fiddle tunes, as he's done for nearly forty years, he oscillates "between the triumphal sense of having identified a feature of great cultural importance, and the anxious sense of being the only one in the world who thinks that such features are of any consequence" (2002). I will confess to sometimes sharing this anxiety. I believe, though, that these details do matter and that they have shown us some important things about creativity in a traditional context.

"Sally's in the garden sifting sand" goes one of Tommy's verses, a reference to a bawdy dance of long ago. I have attempted to sift some of the migrations, collaborations and influences that have come to bear on one very old fiddle tune. I believe that these social factors can be heard in the music and that comparative study of old-time

music as *music* has much to tell us about who the players were and are, who they knew, where they went and what they valued.

TRANSCRIPTIONS AND EXAMPLES

Transcription 1.

"Sally Ann"

as sung by Delie Hughes of Burnsville, NC in 1918. From Sharp 1932.

A

5

B

9

13

The musical notation for "Sally Ann" is written on three staves in 3/2 time. The first staff begins with a boxed 'A' and contains measures 1 through 4. The second staff begins with a measure number '5' and contains measures 5 through 8. The third staff begins with a boxed 'B' and a measure number '9', and contains measures 9 through 12. A measure number '13' is placed at the start of the third staff. The key signature has one flat (Bb) and the time signature is 3/2.

Transcription 2.

Beano

as played by Pug Allen on MTCD 321-2

A

5

B

9

The musical notation for "Beano" is written on three staves in 3/2 time. The first staff begins with a boxed 'A' and contains measures 1 through 4. The second staff begins with a measure number '5' and contains measures 5 through 8, ending with a first ending bracket labeled '1.'. The third staff begins with a boxed 'B' and a measure number '9', and contains measures 9 through 12, starting with a second ending bracket labeled '2.'. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#) and the time signature is 3/2.

Transcription 3.

"Sally Ann"

As played by Frank Blevins and his Tar Heel Rattlers (1927)

Sheet music for Transcription 3, "Sally Ann". The music is in 2/4 time and consists of three staves. The first staff is labeled with a boxed 'B' and contains measures 1 through 8. The second staff is labeled with a boxed 'B' and contains measures 5 through 8. The third staff is labeled with a boxed 'A' and contains measures 9 through 13.

Transcription 4.

"Sally Anne"

as played by Al Hopkins and the Hill Billies (1926)

Sheet music for Transcription 4, "Sally Anne". The music is in 2/4 time and consists of three staves. The first staff is labeled with a boxed 'A' and contains measures 1 through 4. The second staff is labeled with a boxed 'A' and contains measures 5 through 8. The third staff is labeled with a boxed 'B' and contains measures 10 through 13. The music includes first and second endings for measures 8 and 13.

Transcription 5.

Old Time Sally Ann

as played by Tommy Jarrell on CO-CD-2725

Sheet music for Transcription 5, "Old Time Sally Ann". The music is in 2/4 time and consists of three staves. The first staff is labeled with a boxed 'A' and contains measures 1 through 4. The second staff is labeled with a boxed 'A' and contains measures 5 through 8. The third staff is labeled with a boxed 'B' and contains measures 9 through 13.

Transcription 6.

Eighth of January

as played by Charlie Higgins on FRC-501

A

5 **B**

9

Transcription 7.

Eighth of January

as played by Frazier and Patterson on Rounder 0238

A

6

10 **B**

14 **C**

Transcription 8.

Sally Ann

Fiddle tuned ADAE

as played by Tommy Jarrell (CO-CD-2702)

A

5

10 **B**

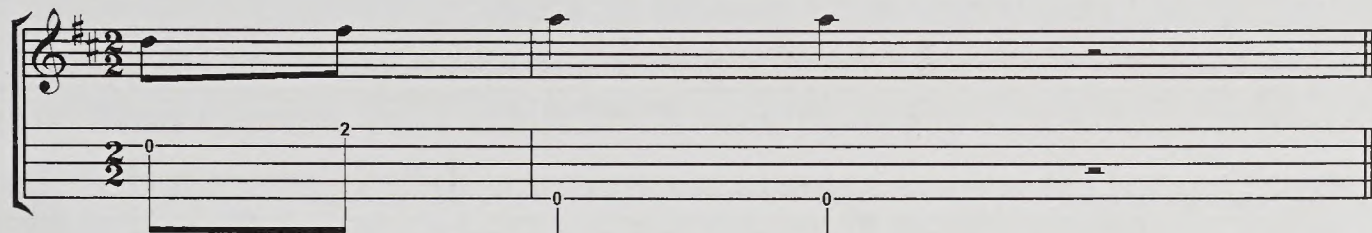
14 **C**

Transcription 9.

The "Galax lick"

Banjo tuned aDADE

as played in the high strain of "Sally Ann"

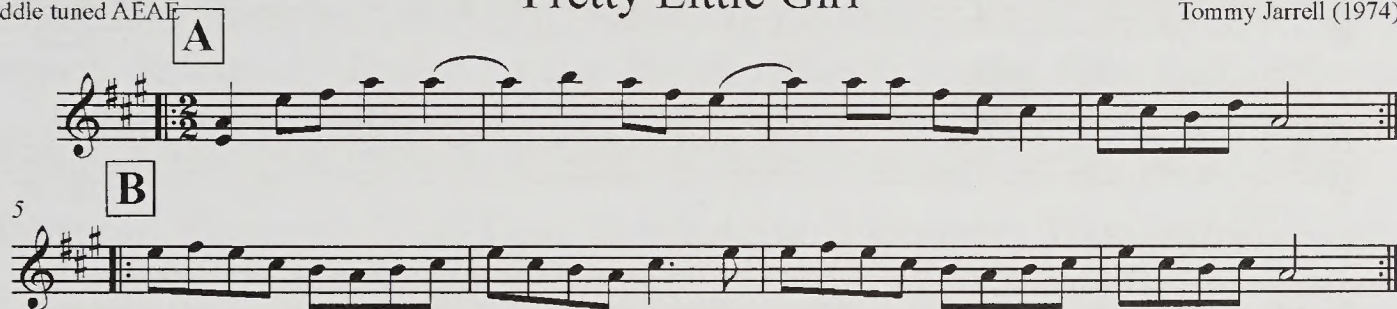


Transcription 10.

Pretty Little Girl

Fiddle tuned AEAF

Tommy Jarrell (1974)

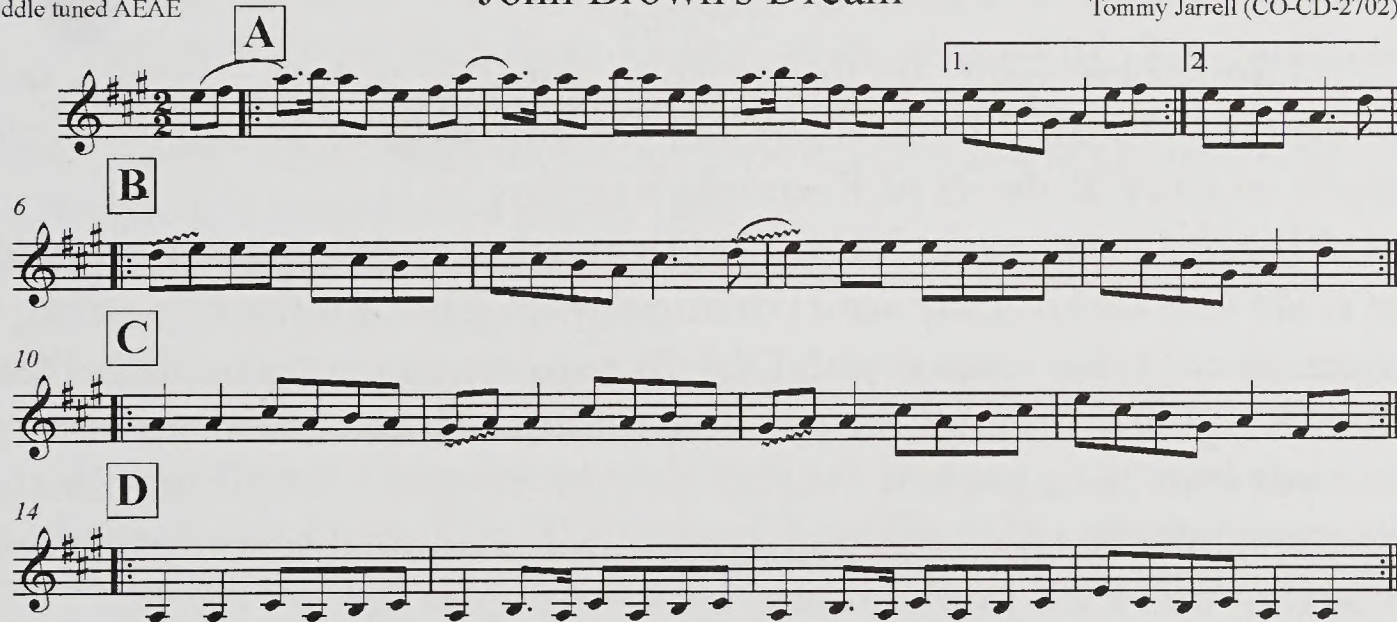


Transcription 11.

John Brown's Dream

Fiddle tuned AEAE

Tommy Jarrell (CO-CD-2702)



Transcription 12.

Fiddle tuned ADAE

Sally Ann

Pilot Mountain Bobcats (Yodel-Ay-Hee 026)

NOTES

¹The submediant, or minor vi, is another option, though one rarely taken by traditional accompanists for this tune. For an example, listen to Dock Roberts of Kentucky's setting in G.

²Tenor banjos are a later modification of the five-string, shorter in scale and lacking the short drone string. Though the five-string is more strongly associated with Old-time music, many recordings from the '78 era feature this newer instrument. Most recording session records only list a generic "banjo" in their rosters, which complicates matters, but the role of this and other non-standard accompaniment instruments, such as piano and ukulele, awaits further study.

³Playing strains in lower octaves was a common practice in other areas of the South, though.

⁴"Pretty Little Girl" is part of a widespread family of tunes that includes many tunes named "Brown's Dream" and "Jimmy Johnson" and other variants. These tunes often have three strains, suggesting that one of the strains may have been lost by the time the tune was played in Round Peak, or that Tommy Jarrell was remembering this ur-tune as simpler than it was.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would primarily like to thank the many musicians and researchers who agreed to talk to me for this project. This research was undertaken as a masters' project at Brown University and I'm grateful to Marc Perlman, my advisor for this project, for his guidance. Jeff Titon, Tom Carter, Phil Jamison, Kevin Donleavy and Alan Jabbour all contributed insightful comments and suggestions. If I haven't taken all these suggestions, it's to the detriment of this essay, I'm certain.

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Kim Sloan's *A New World:* *England's First View of America:* A Review Essay

By Joyce Joines Newman

From mid-October 2007 to mid-January 2008, citizens of North Carolina had the rare and privileged opportunity to view at the North Carolina Museum of History in Raleigh the first images of the New World made by an Englishman and seen by a European audience. The British Museum organized this traveling exhibit of 75 remarkable "watercolor drawings" by John White that include images of flora, fauna, and the Native American inhabitants of the area around present-day Roanoke Island, North Carolina. The exhibit opened at the British Museum from March to June 2007 and will travel to two additional venues in the United States after leaving Raleigh—the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, March 6–June 1, 2008, and Jamestown Settlement, Williamsburg, July 15–October 15, 2008. The Museum of History has paired the White exhibit with a second exhibit called "Mysteries of the Lost Colony" that examines the disappearance of the English settlement on Roanoke Island established in

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Frame photo: Detail from John White's "The Town of Pomeiooc," British Museum.

1587 with the artist John White as governor. It has been over forty years since the drawings last came to North Carolina through the North Carolina Museum of Art, and the opportunity to see them will be, for most viewers, a once-in-a-lifetime treat.

Dr. Kim Sloan, curator of British Drawings and Watercolours and Francis Finlay curator of the Enlightenment Gallery in the British Museum, wrote the catalog that accompanies the exhibit, titled, like the exhibit, *A New World: England's First View of America*. Additional perspectives are provided in essays by three contributing authors: Joyce E. Chaplin (James Duncan Phillips Professor of Early American History at Harvard), Christian F. Feest (director of the Museum Für Völkerkunde in Vienna), and Ute Kublemann (special assistant for Prints and Drawings in the British Museum).

Sloan's catalog is a significant and welcome addition to the existing literature about John White and makes several important contributions to the study of his work. Sloan is the first commentator to attempt a full treatment of White as an artist and to place him within the artistic context of late sixteenth century England. She has also begun to examine a selection of White's watercolors with X-ray fluorescence to discover the elements present and with Raman spectroscopy to identify specific compounds, and has provided a preliminary indication of the pigments and materials he used. Sloan has also reinterpreted White's social position in the Elizabethan world and his possible education, published some factual information not previously found in the literature, and offered a compelling reassessment of his participation in the 1585 Roanoke expedition.

John White is an intriguing and still mysterious figure. The known facts about him are few, and Sloan has published some of them with their sources for the first time. White was probably born in the 1540s. A reexamination of White's coat of arms conducted for Sloan indicates that he had connections to a Robert White (probably of Truro, Cornwall) who married Alice Wymark, and to descendants of a White family of Truro that included a John White, who was a member of the Haberdashers Company of London. When this John White died in 1584, he made bequests to two nephews, Robert and John. Nephew Robert, in his will proved in 1617, left money to his own nephew born in 1595, who was the son of his deceased brother John of Plymouth. The relationship of these two White families to each other and to John White the artist is not known, but they are connected by the quarterings on their coats of arms.



John White's "The Town of Pomeiooc," c. 1585, watercolor and body color, British Museum.

Sloan has published for the first time information from research in London parish records conducted by lebame houston of Roanoke Island which shows that White married Thomasine Cooper in 1566 in the church of St. Martin Ludgate in London, had a son (Thomas) who was born 27 April 1567 and buried 26 December 1568, and a daughter (Elinor) who was christened on 9 May 1568. On 24 June 1583, Elinor married Ananias Dare in St. Clement Danes in London. They moved to St. Bride's Parish in 1585. They had two children, Thomasine and Ananias, who must have died young, before leaving in 1587 for America where their daughter, Virginia Dare, was born, the first child of English parents born in America.

White's name appears in the account of the 1585 Roanoke expedition to the newly-named land of "Virginia" organized by Sir Walter Raleigh and led by Sir Richard Grenville. In 1587, White returned to

Roanoke as leader of a group of English men, women and children, including his pregnant daughter Elinor and her husband, Ananias Dare, who attempted to establish a permanent English colony called the "Cittie of Raleigh," of which he was to serve as governor. Although their intended site was the Chesapeake Bay, they were forced to settle instead on Roanoke Island in July. White left in late August to return to England for supplies, but, due to various misfortunes, was unable to reach Roanoke again until 1590 when he found the settlement abandoned. Forced by storms to end his search for the colonists, White returned to England. The last glimpse of him is a brief description of this last bittersweet voyage to discover the fate of the Roanoke colonists written for the publisher Richard Hakluyt from White's house at Newtowne (Ballynoe) in Kylmore, County Cork, Ireland in 1593. Resigned to his fate, he capitulates in his search, "I leaue off from prosecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will" (Sloan 49). The date of his death, like that of his birth, is unknown.

We know John White, then, through these few facts and through his wondrous drawings of the fish, reptiles, plants, and Native American inhabitants of the New World. In technique and treatment, the drawings had no contemporary parallel, borrowing from the watercolor materials and methods of the manuscript illuminators and portrait "limnists," as well as from the natural historians and botanical illustrators and the new ethnographic artists. His materials were simple, consisting of lead pencils and brushes. He used common, often inexpensive, pigments mixed with water and gum as a binder. He began by outlining his subjects in black lead (graphite), then built and defined the forms with small strokes placed directly on the bare paper using vegetable dyes such as indigo for blue, minerals including yellow and other ochres in mixtures to produce various colors and shades, and lead pigments such as possibly massicot or lithage for opacity. He used small amounts of more expensive pigments like vermilion, silver, and gold to pick out details. The paper used for the drawings dates to c. 1580. White's drawings not only preserve most of the known historical information about the culture and appearance of the Algonquian Indians of eastern North Carolina encountered by early English explorers and settlers, but for centuries they served as enormously powerful models for visualizations of other Native American peoples and their cultures.

John White's images survive in three volumes owned by the British Museum. The works on which the present exhibit and catalog are

based were placed into an album acquired in 1788 by James Caulfield, the first Earl of Charlemont, for his collection of Elizabethan and Jacobean materials and remained in the possession of his family in Dublin until 1865 when the third earl sent it to Sotheby's in London for sale. While awaiting sale, the volume suffered fire and water damage from a warehouse fire. Three weeks of saturation and pressure resulted in the offsetting of pigment from the drawings to the blank interleaf pages. Henry Stevens of Vermont, a collector of Americana, purchased the damaged volume. He removed the original binding (thereby destroying clues to its ownership), trimmed the scorched pages, and rebound the drawings and interleaves into two separate volumes. In 1866, unable to find an American buyer, he sold both volumes to the British Museum.

Judging by the polished technique and the amount of gold and silver pigments used in these drawings, the original volume was most likely a presentation album prepared for a member of Queen Elizabeth's court who supported the Roanoke voyages, possibly Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Walsingham, Lord Burghley, or one of the wealthy investors in the voyages such as William Sanderson. The set could even have been made for Queen Elizabeth herself, since, as Kim Sloan rightly points out, the publisher who engraved the White drawings to illustrate Thomas Harriot's description of the "new found land of Virginia" in 1590 stated that White was "sent into the contrie by the queenes Maiestye" (Sloan 11-12, 94-95). The volume was probably one of a number of sets of the drawings in circulation at the time, and these particular drawings do not constitute "originals" in our modern conception of the term. Their subjects include maps and fortifications, individual portraits and scenes of village life among the Algonquian Indians from the Roanoke Island area of present day northeastern North Carolina, drawings of reptiles, fish and plants, three images of Inuit captured in 1577 by Martin Frobisher and brought to England for display as human curiosities, two images of Timucuan Indians of Florida, costume studies from several nations, and images of early peoples of the British Isles.

The presentation album was produced from field sketches made in the Roanoke Island area during 1585 when an expedition organized by Sir Walter Raleigh followed the exploratory voyage of the previous year led by Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, its intent apparently to establish an English military base in the New World. Sloan's primary argument is that John White was one of the gentlemen-companions who accompanied many of the early English voy-



Drawing by John White: The wife of a “werowance” or chief of Pomieooc and her daughter, c. 1585, watercolor and body color, British Museum.

ages of exploration, and that as such he was also an educated gentleman trained in the courtly art of “*disegno*, the ability to abstract beauty from nature through imagination” (Sloan 33). As such, Sloan thinks it unlikely that he was the John White who belonged to the Painters Stainers Company in London in 1580, as others have suggested. She posits that the payment made by the Office of the Revels to a John White who may possibly be our John White, for the parcell gilding of two sets of armor for the Masque of the Amazons performed at Elizabeth’s court in January 1579, could have been for designing, not painting, the armor.

Sloan also theorizes that John White spent only a short time at Roanoke, arriving with the Grenville expedition at the Outer Banks on 3 July of 1585 and leaving by late summer or early fall. His name occurs in a list of men who set out to explore the mainland from 11 to 18 July; White was in a small ship’s rowing boat along with the treasurer Francis Brooke, as they visited various Algonquian towns along the banks of the sounds and rivers, including Pomeiooc, Aquascogoc, and Secotan. Unlike other commentators who assumed that White, like Thomas Harriot, remained with the military colony until its rescue by Francis Drake in June 1586, Sloan argues that it is more likely he was among the hundreds of men on the voyage who returned to England, possibly with Grenville when he sailed on 25 August, or together with treasurer Brooke when he returned in mid-September. This would be a simple explanation why such a limited number of drawings survive if White had a year to draw others, and would be reasonable if White’s purpose was to circulate drawings quickly that could help promote the funding and settlement of Raleigh’s colony.

Sloan has also introduced a novel element for the interpretation of the John White watercolors by placing them in a new order in her catalog. Douglas Quinn, in preparing descriptions of the drawings for his influential volumes on the Roanoke voyages, placed the drawings in the order in which he thought they had been drawn, and that order has been replicated by other commentators. Instead of following this formula, Sloan examined the drawings in the order of the registration numbers given to them when they were catalogued by the British Museum in 1906 and considered “the offsets, burn marks and bleed-through of colours” (95) in an attempt to reconstruct the order in which they were placed in the original Elizabethan volume. According to Sloan, the resulting sequence of images “presents us with a very Elizabethan view of the world, as the sequence follows

that of most cosmographies and travel accounts published at the time” (67).

Christian Feest’s excellent essay on “John White’s New World” expands this Elizabethan intellectual context for White’s work. He places it within the tradition of early ethnographic illustration, found in books of costumes, natural histories, and illustrated travel accounts, and the comparative ethnologies of later centuries. He also relates it to the underlying Elizabethan system of categorization that was used to organize the new information resulting from global exploration.

Few collections of images of the New World resulting from other voyages of exploration existed, and no ethnographic illustrations including those relating to the Americas had been published in England prior to White’s visit to the New World. However, White may have been familiar with at least some of the existing accounts.

In 1557, Hans Staden, a German mercenary working for the Portuguese, published an account of his year of captivity among the Tupinambá Indians of Amazonian Brazil illustrated by forty woodcuts based on his drawings. The same year, the Catholic cosmographer for the King of France, André Thevet, who spent three months at the unsuccessful French colony on the site of present day Rio de Janeiro, also published an account of the Tupinambá illustrated by seventeen engravings. The cannibalism, nakedness, and distinctive feather ornaments portrayed in these two accounts had an enormous influence on subsequent European images of indigenous peoples of both North and South America.

Calvinist Jean de Léry, who lived in the colony visited by Thevet, fled Catholic persecution to live for a year with the Tupinambá, and reworked five images from Thevet as woodcuts to illustrate his work, an attack on French Catholicism, published in 1578. De Léry removed the landscape backgrounds and embellishments added by Thevet’s Flemish engravers, isolating the figures and presenting them as individual portraits, much as John White does.

It is unclear whether John White was familiar with the works of Staden and Thevet, but copies of de Léry’s images that White probably made before his voyages to Roanoke survive in the Sloane volume, discussed below.

De Léry’s work may also have influenced the Huguenot Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, an artist sent by King Charles IX of France to make charts and maps and record the people encountered by the French colonists at the Fort Caroline settlement commanded by René Laudonnière in the St. John’s River area of northeast Florida. Le

Moyne was one of only two fortuitous survivors of the Spanish slaughter of that French colony in 1565.

By 1581, Le Moyne had become a religious refugee living in London in the parish of St. Anne's, where he became acquainted with Walter Raleigh, Sir Philip Sidney, Richard Hakluyt, and John White, whose copies of two of Le Moyne's drawings of Tumucuan Indians are included in the present exhibition. After Le Moyne's death in 1588, his wife provided his account of his escape and his drawings to the Calvinist publisher Theodor de Bry of Frankfurt. In the same year, de Bry acquired John White's drawings and Thomas Harriot's text, which he published in 1590 in four languages as *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, part one of his *America* series. In 1591, Le Moyne's materials became part two of *America*; his original drawings do not survive.

The third volume in the British Museum that contains drawings closely related to the work of John White is a volume purchased around 1715 from White's unidentified descendants by Sir Hans Sloane, whose extensive collections of natural history, antiquities, and curiosities formed the nucleus of the British Museum. Sloane believed they were John White's original drawings for the engravings used by de Bry. Before he convinced White's descendants to sell him the volume, Sloane had copies made of many of the drawings; these are also housed at the British Museum.

The Sloane volume contains several images that are very similar to images in the volume of White watercolors acquired in 1866: five images of the Roanoke area Algonquians, three of Inuit, and a series of flora and fauna, twenty-one of which are versions of drawings in the White volume. Previous writers have dismissed the drawings in the Sloane volume as derivative or childish copies done in later centuries by White's family or even by children. Sloan concludes that the images in the Sloane volume were contemporary with White's drawings and were closely associated with his work. She suggests that differences in details between the White and Sloane volume versions could not have been invented by a copyist but must have been based on firsthand observation of the subjects, implying that the artist was also at Roanoke or that these drawings were copied from an alternate set of drawings by White (225).

The Sloane volume also included several series of drawings that do not parallel the White watercolors but are related to them: five images of the Tupinambá Indians of Brazil, 27 drawings of North Carolina birds labeled with their Algonquian names (using the pho-

netic alphabet developed by Thomas Harriot for recording the Algonquian language), 17 similarly-labeled drawings of fish and reptiles, and 57 botanical drawings of flowers.

A New World makes an important contribution to our knowledge of the images in the Sloane volume, all of which were published in black and white in 1984 by Paul Hulton in his *America 1585*. For the first time, Kim Sloan reproduces in color a number of the Sloane volume images that parallel the White drawings, as well as a selection from the non-White bird and flower drawings. It is to be hoped that all the Sloane images will be available in color in the future.

Kim Sloan also interprets the authorship of the Sloane images in a new way. She feels that from three to five hands were involved in producing the various groupings: the three costume studies, the copies of Algonquian images, the labeled bird and fish drawings, the flower studies, and the Tupinambá and Inuit drawings, which include an image of a skirmish between the Inuit and English not among the White drawings of Inuit.

Sloan is the first commentator to suggest that John White may possibly have drawn the costume studies and images of Tupinambá and Inuit, perhaps as early as the 1570s. Sloan finds it feasible that White had an assistant or apprentice with him on the 1585 voyage or that other gentlemen on the voyage may have been skilled at drawing; either could have produced the drawings of fish and birds. She also points out that Thomas Harriot may have employed another limner who remained on Roanoke during the late fall and winter of 1585 and early 1586, who could have produced the bird drawings. Some of the flower drawings seem to have been copied from contemporary printed works, some from other watercolors, and some from the flowers themselves. Sloan sees a strong resemblance between some of these drawings and the work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues and argues for a closer examination of the flower drawings in light of Le Moyne's later botanical drawings.

Perhaps the problematic section of the catalog is Joyce Chaplin's essay, "Roanoke 'Counterfeited According to the Truth'," in which Chaplin, relying on her interpretation of the word "counterfeit" in the sense of fake, addresses what she sees as manipulations of the truth by White to produce images that could serve as propaganda for encouraging settlers and investors in the planting of English settlements in the New World. As one exhibit reviewer pointed out, Chaplain "perhaps overstates the case" in her treatment of the term "counterfeit"; although, he says, in the sixteenth century the word

could imply falsehood, it “could also praise a perfect likeness, especially when used of limning. . . . This linguistic misunderstanding may have led to an over-emphasis on political purpose, and too little regard for an important intellectual aspect of the late 16th century.” (Mallalieu). Chaplain appears to be applying a preconceived point of view to subject matter with which she is not very familiar, and some of her conclusions are questionable. For example, her discussion of White’s drawing of the village of Secotan that includes three plantings of corn in newly sprouted, green, and ripe stages, focuses on “those three cornfields” that tout the productivity of the land. According to Chaplin, “It was wildly optimistic. Virginia’s growing season was not long enough for double cropping, let alone the three successive crops White had implied when he painted distinct stages of corn cultivation into the village of Secotan” (Sloan 57-59). On this point, Chaplin is simply wrong. According to a pamphlet published by the North Carolina Cooperative Extension Service entitled *Home Vegetable Gardening* (AG-06), downloadable from their web site, modern day corn can be planted from April 15 to June 1, taking 85-90 days to reach maturity, which would allow for four staggered (as opposed to successive) plantings that would be harvested approximately July 15 to September 1, given plantings made two weeks apart. Even taking into account the difference in types of corn and the variations in temperature that might delay the first planting later than April 15, there should be ample time in the coastal areas of North Carolina to harvest at least three crops of corn, just as White depicted. The accuracy of his observation is suggested by the fact that the first plots planted in the spring would have been maturing about the time of the English arrival at the beginning of July, just as he depicted, while later plantings could have been half grown or very small. Even if dry conditions in certain years caused a failure of the corn crops, White’s drawings would still indicate normal planting practices, not exaggeration.

Ute Kuhlemann, in her essay, “Between Reproduction, Invention and Propaganda: Theodor de Bry’s Engravings after John White’s Watercolours,” examines the publication of Harriot and White’s work by Theodor de Bry, and the differences introduced between White’s drawings and the engravings and their implications, as well as subsequent adaptations of White’s images.

John White’s remarkable images of the land and inhabitants encountered by the English in Roanoke were a primary vehicle for sixteenth-century European perception of the New World, and continue

to be the same for twenty-first century viewers. The continuing influence of White's watercolors is perhaps best illustrated, as Christopher Feest points out, by the use of his drawings to illustrate the successful English settlement of the New World at Jamestown in 1607. The pattern of illustrating Jamestown with materials derived from White was established in the seventeenth century by the inclusion of White's images in maps of the Chesapeake area or by pasting the printed de Bry engravings into histories of Virginia. This pattern was reinforced when the cataloging of the White drawings at the British Museum coincided with the 300th anniversary celebration of Jamestown. As Feest concludes: "Largely by default, partly by tradition, John White's pictures have thus become nearly synonymous with the celebrations of the founding of Virginia in 1607 . . ." (Sloan 78). By organizing this exhibition and publishing its catalog on the 400th anniversary of Jamestown, the British Museum has once again reinforced this appropriation of images of the Algonquian inhabitants of North Carolina to portray other related, but perhaps not identical, groups in the Chesapeake Bay area. The White drawings were used as title graphics and as inspiration for costuming and sets for the 2005 movie, *The New World*, based on John Smith and Pocahontas, and they have been widely associated with the current anniversary celebrations. Visitors to the *A New World* exhibition in its final venue at the Jamestown Settlement will see, as Feest remarks, "striking views of—well, not quite of—the native inhabitants" of that new Virginia. We in North Carolina have been fortunate to have the opportunity to celebrate those of the "old" Virginia first.

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